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ABSTRACT

A study was made to explore and to assess the understanding and perceptions of communications technology held by the lay black community and black professional educators and to examine the implications of their perceptions and understanding for social policy. The methodological approach consisted of a: (1) black educational historiography; (2) review of the literature; (3) analysis of the proceedings and reports of national, regional and local conferences on the needs and directions of black education; (4) survey research; and (5) the use of the scenario. Among the findings were: (1) there has been and is abusive use of technology on Blacks; (2) schools are now viewed as both a friend and foe; (3) black education has not been developed by Blacks themselves; and (4) Blacks generally have favorable attitudes toward educational technology, but are unaware of its vast potential and dangers. It is recommended that: (1) Blacks establish their own communications media data banks and informational systems; and (2) Blacks affect the staffing, programing, policies and development of white-controlled media and institutions of technology in order to mitigate or negate their adverse, inverse relations with Blacks. (WCM)

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TELECOMMUNICATIONS TECHNOLOGY AND THE SOCIALIZATION OF BLACK AMERICANS:

ISSUES, CONCERNS AND POSSIBILITIES

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the Study

It is the intent of this study to explore and to assess the understanding and perceptions of communications technology held by the lay black community and black professional educators, and to examine the implications of their perceptions and understanding for social policy dealing with educational issues and for educational innovation and change.

This study was undertaken because it seemed as if another significant development was going to by-pass black folks. Telecommunications technology offers many potential benefits and dangers. The application of the various technologies to and in the field of education could mean promises or perils, or both for black children and the black community. However, it seemed that Blacks in general and black educators in particular have not been in tune with the direction, nature and implications of this phenomenon. Even more seriously, this lack of awareness implies lack of control over or influence on this movement to merge technology and education as it impinges upon the lives and minds of black youth. In far too many other instances, powerlessness and ignorance have been the rule in terms of events affecting black life. Reaction and protest have been the only means of recourse., Untold suffering, time, energy and resources have been put out to either make up lost ground or simply to survive. Hopefully this report will alert Black America and other concerned parties to the existence of a force in this society that has been rapidly evolving over the past several decades, and it will stimulate interest in controling and mastering it before it becomes the ruler.

The study that is presented here addresses itself to the larger concern of the perceptions and knowledge of the black community of developments in the area of communications technology as applied to or proposed to be utilized in education, and the concommitant implications and ramifications for social policy, educational innovation, and community development.

In addition to exploring and assessing these issues, through this work I hope to present the past and current state of affairs with Blacks vis-à-vis education and technology and to suggest some ways in which these two aspects of modern day life can be joined to assist in that process known as the liberation and development of the black community.

Scope of Study

Broadly speaking, in this paper the issues of technology as a means of social and educational change in the educational processes of black children in the United States are addressed. A number of related topics and developments are explored in pursuing this examination of the role, purpose, direction, feasibility, and desirability of employing various types of technologies in the socialization of Afro-American children. Some of the more salient issues that are discussed in this paper are: technology and the Black American public; technology and the general American public; "educational" technologies as conceptual and operational entities; social change and educational innovation; the notion of "Black Education"; black educators vis-à-vis technology in black education; and a proposal for using technologies in black education. A brief historical review will be made of the education of black people in America to provide the proper backdrop against which current problems, directions and trends can be assessed and understood.

The specific concern with the impact of communications technology on education for Blacks is part and parcel of a larger picture that has to do with the current issues of what are the appropriate educational policies, strategies, and institutions for preparing black youth to live and function in the world and in America with its built-in dysfunctionalities and disadvantages for Blacks. Numerous solutions and "panaceas" have been proposed. Most recently, with the advent of the new "educational" technologies, a new saviour has been identified and hailed: communications technology applied to education. To what extent black educators, scholars, parents and politicians view these technological developments in education as plausible alternatives or as feasible tools, if at all, is the stuff of this paper.

The conferences and the literature that are examined in this study represent some of the most recent and major attempts to identify, conceptualize and analyze the problems, conditions, and trends occurring nationally in education for Blacks as perceived by black parents, educators, politicians, intellectuals, and scholars. From the number of conferences and the volume of writing that have taken place in the past 4-5 years devoted to the social development of black children, it is evident that education is close to the hearts of Blacks, not just for cultural and moral purposes, but also for political and economic ones.

One cannot discuss communications technology or any technology in a vacuum. It must be placed in a social context. The potential use or abuse of it must be examined in terms of goals, orientations, aspirations, and conditions of people. While a technology may be deemed beneficial and desirable to one group, it may be felt to be harmful and quite undesirable to another. Even when speaking in the context of the schooling system in this country, it becomes clear upon close examination that application of a technology in this setting is not without its complications. This is so because the American public school system is a complex, varied institution, beset with problems.

Research Questions and Epistemological Concerns

Lest the scientific-minded reader assume that this work will proceed without focusing upon specific questions, amenable to empirical response, and that only a "shot-gun" or "vacuum-cleaner" approach is being employed, we hasten to pose the specific concerns that emanate from the larger ones raised in the preceding sections.

Before stating the more concise questions, it must be pointed out that a general approach is being taken in this study and that the more narrow questions are posed in light of the larger issues. An holistic approach is necessary for this topic. Preliminary work done in this area suggests that this piece is a pioneering piece and that it is one of few works addressing themselves to the issues that have been raised. In order for the full significance of these issues and concerns to be recognized, it is the unequivocal opinion of this author that these issues and concerns and their implications must be as fully discussed and their parameters as fully drawn in the initial stages as is possible within the limitations of one discussion on the subject. Not to do so when fully cognizant of the needs and with opportunity at hand would be a gross abdication of my responsibilities as a black scholar.

On the other hand, scholarly conventions do call for "zeroing in" on a set of testable research questions, if not hypotheses. For the purposes of this study, it was deemed not appropriate to postulate initial, testable hypotheses for a variety of reasons. One reason closely related to the earlier remark of this work being pioneering, is that there exists no established body of knowledge on this subject from which to deduce logically derived hypotheses. Secondly, hypothesis-testing as it is currently practiced in social science research would tend to distract the focus of attention away from the broader issues and concerns and their implications, on which I want the emphasis to lay, and would, instead, place it on narrower aspects of the larger question. As I said earlier, I feel that the matter that is being treated in this study is too crucial to the lives and development of black people to be reduced to a sterile academic exercise and ritual dictated by the niceties and conventions of scientism. Scientific methodology will be used in this study and the multi-faceted methodological approach that is used is explicated in the Methodological Approach section.

The major research question that this study addresses itself to is: What are the implications of the utilization (or non-utilization) of "educational technologies" in the educational strategies and goals of Black Americans? Closely related to this question is another that asks: Is a high level of awareness of the potentials, the limitations, the workings of the communications technologies by black laymen and educators related to the advocation of their use (or non-use) in the educational (socialization) processes of black children?

Methodological Approach

Given the diverse nature of this subject, several techniques will be employed to respond to the questions posed in the above section, and to meet the general purposes outlined at the beginning of this chapter. The various techniques are drawn from several disciplines and range from being widely known to being relatively obscure. Some are well-established and one (the scenario) is emerging as a technique in a new field called futures research (or futures studies, futurology, policies studies, etc.). Another of these techniques is not really new, but I am reviving it under the name "black educational historiography". This multi-faceted approach consists of black educational historiography; review of the literature on the education of Black Americans; analysis of the proceedings and reports of national, regional and local conferences on the needs and directions of black education; survey research of educators (black and white) of black children and lay black people; and the use of a scenario.

Each of these methods will be further described in the chapters that they appear, along with the appropriateness of their use in generating pertinent, reliable, valid, and usable data. Other sources include the examination of certain pilot projects in which some of the technologies are used and the author's experience as an administrator of, consultant to and observer of institutions educating Blacks.

Organization of the Study

Chapter 2 presents theoretical perspectives and the definitions of key concepts used in this study. The social and socialization function of education will be discussed. The concepts "education", "educational complex" and "Black Education" are introduced along with the notion of "development in the black community".

Chapter 3 provides a short historical presentation and analysis of the education of Black people from their beginnings in this country until the 1954 Supreme Court decision. The major trends and developments that have occurred historically in the education of Black people and their impacts on the life and culture of Afro-Americans are discussed and analyzed in this chapter. Black educational historiography is defined, described and utilized as tool of analysis.

Chapter 4 presents an overview of the current changes, issues, needs, problems and directions in the education of Blacks. "Desegregation", "integration", "compensatory education", "community control", "decentralization", "voucher systems", "performance contracting", "independent black educational institutions" (IBEI), etc. as concepts, proposed solutions and current issues are presented and discussed. These two chapters (3 and 4) provides the reader with the necessary background to understand the current situation of Black America educationally. It will be against this backdrop that socio-educational change and innovation, along with the utilization of communications technology as either an educational alternative or tool are introduced.

In Chapter 5 the forces that have historically shaped and that are currently inducing change in American education and schooling are reviewed and discussed. These phenomena have had and do have implications and ramifications for the education of Blacks and need to be noted. Some of these forces have been technological in nature and a recognition of their impacts allows one to be better positioned to ascertain the possible consequences of current and future technologically-induced changes in education and in society.

Chapter 6 presents a discussion of the relationship that Blacks have (and have had) with technology, especially communications technology. A more general discussion of the relationship between technology and the American public at large is also offered in this chapter. These discussions give perspective to the use of certain technology employing media as socializing agents, and also view their role as part of the "educational complex".

Chapter 7 consists of a discussion of the marriage of technology and education and the resultant union called "educational technology" or "instructional technology". The problems of definition and the current state of conceptual affairs in this domain are presented. Further, it identifies the various technologies in use or proposed for use in education and their educational uses. Also some issues concerning the use of this field in the education of Blacks are briefly raised. This chapter represents a break from the earlier chapters which serve as background for the specific questions and concerns held. It is also a transitional chapter, through which we pass directly to the more specific issues from the larger ones.

Chapters 8 through 10 present the findings of the various techniques. In Chapter 8 the use of the literature review as a methodology is briefly discussed (since it is assumed that this method is fairly familiar) and the findings of this literature search are reported. The analysis of conference proceedings, reports and resolutions also takes place in this chapter, as does a discussion of selected projects employing communications technology for socializing or educational purposes.

Chapter 9 gives a discussion of the methods, procedures and results of a survey research effort that sought to get data directly from the grassroots level with which to address the research questions.

Chapter 10 consists of a scenario which projects into the future and suggests how telecommunications technology can be employed to bring about an effective, viable, supportive system of education that enhances and encourages the developmental and liberation efforts of black people in this country. It also provides suggestions for using educational technologies as a teaching strategy for preparing Blacks (and others) for life in an increasingly technological society.

Chapter 11 contains conclusions about this study and recommendations for future actions and research. In it I recapitulate the findings in light of the questions and discuss their implications for black educational, political, social and economic strategy.

* * * *

It is hoped that the logic and purpose that undergirds this study and that brings together such seemingly diverse topics and issues unravel themselves in the succeeding pages and do not remain a function of the author's intellect.

Chapter 2

SOME THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND DEFINITION OF TERMS

The English language with its linguistic richness and flexibility makes it very easy for different perceivers to assume common or similar connotation for like terms. In this study some terms which have widespread currency in the language and generally accepted meanings are used in totally different connotative ways. In some cases in this work, the sense of the term is extended beyond the familiar, in other instances a more narrow definition is employed.

Redefinition of terms is more than a word game. It is an attempt to convey faithfully certain ideas, notions, and perspectives about the nature of things that are not readily conceived, perceived, or shared by others. It is part of the larger effort to effectively communicate ideas, concerns and perspectives.

In this study "education" means "socialization" and not just "schooling". Schooling is viewed as just one component part of the educational or socialization process, and not necessarily as the most or more important part. The socialization of children of African descent in the United States can take on, and has taken on, many forms and directions.

The proper education or socialization of black people is totally another matter. These various issues all can be subsumed under the questions--"What is the role, nature, and scope of education in society?", and "What is the proper education of people of African descent in the United States?" The ensuing definitions, descriptions, and discussions are intended to provide answers to these questions and to provide the framework for following discussions and analyses.

Black Education

On several occasions (in public addresses) I have attempted to set forth the meaning of the concept "Black Education" as distinguished from the "education of black people", that is the relationships that Blacks have with institutions of schooling. At times it is a difficult concept to put over because of the culturally- and socially-induced narrow perspective that has people in this country thinking of education primarily in terms of the formal system of schooling that dominates in the American scene. Furthermore, the widespread media coverage of black protest activities over the decades against school segregation and inequalities in schooling opportunities has further blinded people, black and white, to the fact that education is not confined solely to the schools and that, often, that which goes on in the schools does not constitute education for black people, but instead is a mis-education that serves to keep them in a role that is not in their best interest. This point will be demonstrated in the following chapters.

I have attempted to succintly capture and express the essence of Black Education in "poetic" form. Black Education encaptures the genius of the African Race. It taps and expands the depths and frontiers of knowledge. It shapes and forms a nation of many from many. It drinks from the diversity of worldly springs. It is timeless, ageless and tireless. It is purposeful. It is pervasive.

Toward a Definition. Black Education is a complex, varied and systematic approach of socialization which inculcates sets of information, knowledge, beliefs, values, perspectives and a frame of reference of and about the past, present and future of the life, history and culture of people of African descent; it is designed, implemented and controlled by Blacks (people of African descent) for Blacks. It provides Blacks with the withal to survive, grow and develop on terms defined by Blacks.

Black Education is a mechanism that informs black people of where they have been, where they are, and where they need to go. It provides the tools, the skills, the insight, the technology for achieving social, political, cultural, economic and spiritual objectives and goals of black people. It is a means of providing understanding and clarification of the plight of black people in a society that has systematically, deliberately and historically attempted to debase, degrade, and exploit them. Black Education includes a process of continuous and on-going scientific analysis which addresses itself to assessing current and future trends and developments and to evaluating and suggesting the appropriate responses of black people.

Black Education encompasses the activities, institutions, programs, policies and processes that provide Blacks with knowledge, information, concepts, values, attitudes, and experiences that contribute to the political, economic, social, intellectual and spiritual development of the black race. Black Education prepares black youth for life in a society that is hostile to its existence. Programs, institutions, processes, and policies that do not have this purpose do not constitute education for Blacks, even though Blacks may be involved in them. Much of which now passes for education for Blacks is actually mis-education. This is particularly true of so-called "programs for the disadvantaged", "compensatory education" and other supposedly "special" programs and plans proposed to resolve the problems that confront Blacks in their quest for proper and quality education.

All too often the education of Blacks is thought to consist of "special" programs that remedy the "defects" that Blacks are allegedly afflicted with. These programs along with the normal fare dished out in schools are supposed to permit Blacks to enter the "mainstream" of American life. (Of course, in recent times this "mainstream" has been questioned by many others in this society other than just Afro-Americans.)

It must be stated that as things stand now there are very few institutions that can be said to be providing "Black Education" as defined in this paper. While many Blacks realize the dire need for an education of this nature, and while some attempts are being made to fulfill this need, "Black Education" remains more of a concept than a reality. In later discussions we cite some of the institutions and organizations that are attempting or have tried to initiate independent black educational alternatives. The rationale for a philosophy and program of black education is aptly and succintly rendered by this editorial appearing in a black college student-initiated magazine which devoted an entire issues to this concept:

> Because of the documented failure of American educational institutions to adequately educate the masses of our people, many of us have intensified our struggles to create viable alternatives. Since the end of the last decade these efforts have led to the birth of Independent Black educational institutions which are controlled and operated by Black people without obligation to the white educational establishment.
>
> Part of the purpose of the independent institutions has been to reevaluate the role of education in the human experience. Ideally, formal education as a tool may be used to draw out and develop the inate [sic] creative ability and potential of people in order that they may better cope with the total human environment; so as to build a more humane and advanced society and world. However, education in white capitalistic America has had as its purpose to train and qualify people to fit into jobs for perpetuating a system which has historically exploited and oppressed the masses of Black people. In the process many Blacks who have "survived" the educational system have been raped of their identity

> and creativity while the masses of Black people have remained the powerless pawns of an educational system incapable of meeting their needs.[1]

The question can be asked, "How is Black Education different from the education of other people?" Essentially, in its focus. Black Education recognizes that for historical and survival reasons black people in America have needs and interests different from other groups, especially those who enjoy privileged positions in society. Basically, the nature of education is the same regardless of where it is to be found, especially as it is to be defined in this paper. But education to be meaningful must address itself realistically to the needs and aspirations of a people. Education does not operate in a social vacuum. It is a function of many societal variables--politics, economics, culture, and so on.

In its simplest form "Black Education" is the education of people of African descent. What then is "education"?

Education

It is instructive at this point to offer a view of education, that is a definition of education that we find operative and functional for the purposes of this paper. This manner of defining education is cross-cultural, universal and can have merit, utility and application across time and space.

---

[1] "Why?", Imani (August/September, 1971), inside front cover.

It is not bounded by the notion of education of any one geographical region of the world, but the instructive and socializing traditions of all cultures and regions can be viewed as sharing these characteristics. Many definitions of education have been given in the past, and undoubtedly, many more will be formulated and posited in the future.

The definition that is put forth here is adapted from Pierre Erny's work on traditional African education,[2] and is informed by many other writers and thinkers who have expressed and communicated similar thoughts and views on education.

Instead of viewing education as a process of interaction between two persons, or more specifically the action or influence of an adult (a teacher) exercised on a child (a pupil), Erny's approach, which is that of cultural anthropology and ethnology and that of sociology and political science, is to consider education as only one aspect of a culture's totality. Education is viewed as a function of a given society. It is considered to be an institution which has three distinct functions to fulfill.

First, in its dynamic or genetic aspect, education is a "transmission of a patrimony or of an heritage from one generation to another".[3] Cleaver, in writing of "Education and Revolution", offers the same viewpoint on this function of education. He writes: "Basically, an education passes on the heritage, the learning, the wisdom, and the technology of human history to the coming generations. We want this information to be passed on to enable and to help mankind continue to survive and cope with the environment."[4] In sum, education is one of the means by which a society, a culture, a civilization, a nation-state, or what have you, perpetuates itself, renews and maintains its values, traditions, and ways of perceiving the world.

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[2] L'Enfant et Son Milieu en Afrique Noire (Paris: Payot, 1972), pp. 15-30.

[3] Ibid., p. 16. Translated from the French by this author. All translations hereafter will be made by this writer, R.C.J.

Secondly, in its static, immediate, or momentary phase, Erny maintains that education "appears then as the heritage, the equipment that the individual receives in order to be able to integrate himself with his community. Thanks to it (education) he is provided with a language, a body of knowledge, a scale of values, a general frame of thought and reference, a sensitiveness, an ethos, a 'savoir vivre'."[5] This function is known as socialization. This is the process of preparing a person or group of people for life in a given society or community. Dr. Charles Hamilton, a political scientist, has this to say about the socialization function of education:

> It is clear that education performs a major socializing function in society and it is clear that this is one of its primary functions. We

---

[4] Elridge Cleaver, "Education and Revolution", Black Scholar Reprint, November, 1969.

[5] Erny. op. cit., p. 16.

> may look to the schools to teach children reading, writing and arithmetic, but we must admit that we also look to the schools for the inculcation of a particular civic culture. The schools are expected to instill a set of normative values which support, not challenge the existing societal values. "Education" then has meant learning to think for oneself only within certain given sets of rules, within a particular given consensual framework.[6]

The last characteristic of education is that of being a change agent. Erny says: "Finally, even in the most traditional and stable civilizations, education appears as a factor of social change. The mental universe of one generation is never completely identical to that of the generations which precede or follow."[7]

By adopting a vantage point similar to this one on education, it is possible to view education, not so much in terms of years of schooling and training, or literacy rates, but as an integral part of a people's tradition that serves specific and pertinent roles in that culture. By having a view of this nature, it becomes understandable that different societies and civilizations evolve and create the types of institutions best suited to their purposes, needs and environment to carry out their process of education. Further, it becomes clear that one system of education is not "better" than another, nor that all systems must resemble each other.

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[6] Charles V. Hamilton, "Education in the Black Community: An Examination of the Realities, Freedomways, Fall, 1968.

[7] Erny, op. cit., p. 16.

In some societies the responsibility for instructing and socializing the young is given to specific institutions, i.e. the schools, and to specific individuals, i.e. teachers. In other societies and cultures many institutions and persons of different specialties share the responsibility for performing the socializing function. In some societies "education" is deemed to be for the young. In others, "education" is a life-long process that occurs from the cradle to the grave, and covers many aspects of life--economic, religious, social and political. In these societies "education" is not a concept separate from "life", there are no specialized institutions and personnel identified or developed to perform this social task. Instead, it is interwoven into every aspect of life in that society, into all of the social, moral, cultural, political, religious and economic institutions, traditions, customs and mores.

Even in America, while socially, education is thought to be an activity that youngsters typically engage in, educational activities are pervasive throughout this society. More and more there is a growing recognition of this reality. Terms such as "non-traditional education", "informal education", "the adult learner", "life-long learning", and a host of others point to this growing awareness that education cannot be contained in one specialized institution nor be limited to one age group (5-24 usually).

To convey the full scope of education and its manifestation in a variety of social institutions we introduce the concept of "educational complex".

Educational Complex

Rolland G. Paulston[8] has identified and defined the educational complex of any nation as being comprised of four major educational components and subsystems. These are formal, non-formal, informal, and international education. He describes them as such:

> At the core would be formal educational system of schools, colleges, and universities. Next would come the non-formal component, or periphery, where structured nonschool educational programs entailing formal instruction are offered as, for example, adult education, management training, remedial training, and retraining youth activities. A third ring would include informal education in which people learn in a nonsystematic manner from generally unstructured exposure to cultural facilities, social institutions, political processes, personal media, and the mass media. A fourth ring, international education, would comprise knowledge inputs gained outside of national boundaries.

If we excuse the western bias that is obvious in this conceptualization of the "educational complex" and with some adaptation, this paradigm becomes very useful for our purposes. Clearly, by perceiving "formal" education, meaning systematic schooling, as the core of "any nation's total educational complex", Mr. Paulston is falling in the trap of projecting his western experiences and cultural biases on the non-western world. "Education" in many parts of the world does not function via "schools" and other "formal" structures. Even in western societies education is permeated throughout and is an inherent part of all other social institutions. This is particularly true for people of non-European origins now living in the United States. Many other institutions function as socializing agents for them. The home, the church, fraternal organizations, social and civil organizations, and a host of other institutions may serve as the primary shaper and transmitter of values and provider of a particular ontology. Oftentimes the values, attitudes and behaviors of people from so-called "minority" cultures are in direct conflict with those demanded and expected by the schools.

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[8] Rolland G. Paulston (ed.), Non-Formal Education: An Annotated International Bibliography (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972), p. ix, (see also pp. xii-xiv).

For these reasons, in order to adapt this model for universal application another component, traditional education, has to be added as a fifth dimension. A further change would be to make it the "core" of the educational complex, for the vast majority of people in the world, and a significant number in this country, do not get their initial and subsequent socialization by way of formal schooling. Another reason for replacing schooling as the core of the educational complex is that schools and schooling as they are known today are relatively new phenomena in human history. Even in a society like the United States with a highly complex, diversified and far-reaching school system, formal education as an experience that heavily impinged upon people's lives can only be dated back to the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Furthermore, as pointed out earlier, several new trends in "life-long learning", "non-traditional studies", "community education", "work-study", inter alia, suggest that schools, even in this society, may not in the future be depended upon to provide the bulk of a person's learning experience.

"Traditional education" as a component part of the educational complex refers here to those sets of socializing experiences and activities that occur in a systematic and structured way in familial, religious, cultural, community and other social institutions to which people have initial and long-lasting exposure to and contact with. The home, the extended family structure, the church, peer groupings are such institutions.

It should be clear that by adding traditional education to this "complex" we are not denying or detracting from the place of "informal" education in this scheme. In our way of conceiving things informal and traditional education are not equated. Traditional education is very systematic and structured; it is quite "formal" in this respect. This way of considering traditional education then requires a shift in the conceptual and operational definitions of "formal" education. Formal education for our purposes is equivalent to an organized system of schooling. Operationally "formal" education consists of the following institutions: primary and secondary schools, teacher-training colleges, universities and technical and agricultural schools. The terms "system of schooling" or "school system" will be used interchangeably in lieu of "formal" education. "Informal" educational experiences are those that occur through involvement in or exposure to activities and experiences that are nonsystematic and unstructured, and that may or may not be an on-going process. Non-formal education, in essence, embraces pre-employment industrial and vocational training programs, on-the-job and skill-upgrading programs, training programs for out-of-school youth and adult populations in rural and urban areas, agricultural extension services, continuing education, remedial training and literacy programs. It is a means of equiping people with vocational and technical skills for employment. It may occur in short courses on the job, provided by employers, or it may be entailed in governmental or other private programs of this nature.

With this notion of an "educational complex" the larger role(s) of education in society is (are) more clearly recognized.

Black Education, Educational Complex, and Development of the Black Community

Black Education while it does not exist, could manifest itself through a social apparatus known as a black educational complex. There presently exists a network foundation for Black Education. The conglomerate of institutions that now serve Blacks educationally and socially are potentially the institutions, along with newly created ones, that could house the type of educational philosophy discussed above. Black homes, churches, colleges and universities, public and private schools that contain all--or nearly all--black student bodies must change their orientations, goals and even structures to develop and deliver the types of values, information, knowledge, skills and ideologies necessary for the meaningful development[9] of the black community. Programs, policies, attitudes and activities that enhance the powers that oppress black people must be shedded and replaced with those that address themselves to the self-defined needs and conditions of the black community. Organizations and institutions must be organized and geared to creating conditions that promote and not retard collective development in and of the black community.

For our purposes in this paper current practices, programs, activities, agencies and institutions serving Blacks will be referred to as the education of black people, or, at times, black education, while the ideal--Black Education--will be used to refer to a more desirable state of affairs.

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[9] Development here means the political, economic, cultural, social, spiritual, intellectual, scientific and technological growth and enhancement of the quality of life for black people collectively. Development is to be defined in terms of these principles: self-reliance; self-determination; self-sufficiency; growth; and modernization. This process is akin to the process that nations and societies undergo in transition from one state to another. For an extended discussion of this concept and its component principles, see Robert C. Johnson, Development, Education, and Educational Technology in Africa (St. Louis: Washington University, unpublished manuscript, 1973), pp. 13-36 and 59-69.

To show the difference between the "education of black people" and "Black Education", we now turn to the historical analysis of the socialization and training that have been the lot of Afro-Americans in the United States.

Chapter 3

A BRIEF EDUCATIONAL HISTORY OF AFRO-AMERICANS

Black Educational Historiography

Black educational historiography is that aspect of black historiography which concerns itself with events, movements and developments incidental to the education, socialization, training and instruction of people of African descent. For our purposes we shall limit our conception and discussion of this field to the area of the world called the "New World", with particular emphasis on the black educational experience in the United States.

Historiography entails the writing, the recording, the analysis and the interpretation of events, deeds and personages that have affected the history of mankind. Dr. Earl E. Thorpe, a black historian, has defined black history as:

> ...American history with the accent and emphasis on the point of view, attitude, and spirit of Afro-Americans, as well as on the events in which they have been actors or the objects of action. Because black people have been forcibly kept in a subordinate status, their portion of America's wealth and power has been smaller than their numbers would command. This necessarily means that their point of view, attitude, and spirit are different from those of white Americans.[10]

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[10] Black Historians (New York: William Morrow and Co., Inc., 1971), p. 3.

This definition is adequate for our purposes here, although our preference is for a view of black historiography that includes the role of the Black man in world affairs and in world history and civilization throughout the ages. Since our discussion is limited to the Americas, more specifically to the United States, and does not include a treatment of the educational heritage of Blacks in Africa, Thorpe's notion of black history suffices for the limited study of the black experience in education that is being undertaken in this chapter.

As a methodology, black educational historiography is not new. Several noted black historians and scholars have dwelled on the educational experience of Blacks in the United States. Carter G. Woodson, Horace Mann Bond, Harry S. Ashmore, Henry A. Bullock and W. E. B. DuBois have produced outstanding works in this area. Several other historians, while not focusing solely on education, have included substantial amounts of information on the past education of Black Americans.

However, like many other phases of scholarship on Blacks, there is not a substantial body of good material on the subject, the above authors' works not withstanding. In addition to this problem, there are other flaws in the literature produced by this methodology. First, a coherent, comprehensive history of the educational past of black folks has not been produced. The various works now in existence deal with specific time periods and locales. Secondly, the education that is written of usually entails schooling, literacy and/or religious instruction. No one has utilized the broader definition that we have posited in the preceding chapter as an operational base from which to investigate the black experience. Doing so provides many additional insights that are lost when using the narrow, conventional mode of conceptualizing "education". Another problem with the literature is that, with the exception of Bullock's work (A History of Negro Education in the South, 1967), most of it is dated, being written before 1955. As with the general history of black people, black educational history suffers from the practice of telling what happened to Blacks as passive objects and tells very little about black people's own views, feelings, initiatives, actions and reactions. All too often only the morals and the history of history are told and the sociology, psychology, and even the economics and politics of history are left uncovered and untouched.[11]

Since it is not our task in this study to re-write (actually to write) black educational history but only to review it, we will draw upon those works that best meet the criticisms pointed out earlier, but in doing so we will knowingly commit the same flaws that we have just noted above.

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[11] See Thorpe, ibid., for a more extensive discussion of this point.

The purpose of presenting in brief review the past educational experiences of black people is to show where we have been, in order to understand and appreciate where we are and where it seems we are heading. Historical analysis also tells us where we need to go and why.

Much of the discussion in this chapter comes from my own analyses and research as a university professor in this area for the past five years and therefore the weight of authority is often my own interpretation of events, trends and developments. In addition to this "expertise" I will be drawing upon the earlier works of Carter G. Woodson, The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861 (New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1968, second edition; first published in 1919 by The Associated Publishers, Inc.), The Mis-Education of the Negro (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, 1933); Henry A. Bullock, mentioned above; Harry S. Ashmore, The Negro and the Schools (Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1954); Horace Mann Bond, The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order (New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1966; first published by Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1934). John W. Blassingame's The Slave Community (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972) is also valuable. In addition various works of W. E. B. DuBois will be consulted. Other works will be referred to at the appropriate times.

The History

A variety of political, economic, social, cultural, technological and moral forces have converged to form, shape, and direct the education of black people in America. We will be concerned with the most salient of these, in a most summary fashion. We hope to show the significance of these events for the education of black people.

The first major event that occurred and had supreme import to people of African descent in the New World is that phenomenon itself which brought them to this area of the world en masse and involuntarily. That institution known as the African Slave Trade brought untold millions of Africans to North, South, and Central America and to the Caribbean islands. This "black cargo" and the triangular trade it established were the basis for the industrial, economic and technological growth and wealth of European countries and colonies.[12] England, France, the United States, and all the other "developed" western countries owe their development to the blood, sweat, and tears, and to the uncompensated labor of African slaves. It was also this institution that lead to the "underdevelopment" of Africa[13] and to the demise of African people everywhere, including those in this country.

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[12] See Eric Williams, Capitalism and Slavery (New York: Capicorn Books, 1966).

[13] See Walter Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa (Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1972).

The African Slave Trade transported men, women, and children from one culture to a new, totally foreign one. It also brought them from their homeland for one purpose and one purpose only, to exploit their labor. The story of how this transition was made from one set of circumstances to a new, completely different and even conflicting set, is a story that can be called the alpha of black education in the United States and the New World. The process that prepares newcomers to an environment--that is either newly-born babies or strangers--for entry into that new environment is the socialization or educational process. To this end, certain practices and mechanisms were established to routinely and systematically introduce the African to his new life of slavery in the western hemisphere. This socialization process is commonly known as "seasoning". Franklin describes it in part thusly:

> Since Negro slaves were constantly being brought in from Africa, overseers found it necessary to develop a practice of "breaking in" the newcomers. In some areas they were distributed among the "seasoned" or veteran slaves, whose duty it was to teach the newly-arrived slaves the ways of life in the New World. In other places they were kept apart and supervised by a special staff of guardians and inspectors who were experienced in breaking in Negroes who might offer resistance to adjusting in their new environment. In either case the mortality rate was exceptionally high, with estimates of deaths running to as much as 30 per cent in a seasoning period of three or four years. Old and new diseases, change of climate and food, exposure incurred in running away, suicide, and excessive flogging were among the main causes of the high mortality rate among the newcomers.[14]

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[14] John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom (New York: Vintage Books, 3rd edition, 1969), pp. 64-65.

C. L. R. James points out that "seasoning" served two major purposes: (1) to make the slave accepting of his position of servitude, and (2) to enhance the security of the slave-owners. James shows how these objectives were to be accomplished:

> ...To cow them into the necessary docility and acceptance necessitated a regime of calculated brutality and terrorism, and it is this that explains the unusual spectacle of propertyowners apparently careless of preserving their property: they had first to ensure their own safety.
>
> For the least fault the slaves received the harshest punishment...The slaves received the whip with more certainty and regularity than they received their food. It was the incentive to work and the guardian of discipline. But there was no ingenuity that fear or a depraved imagination could devise which was not employed to break their spirit and satisfy the lusts and resentment of their owners and guardians--irons on the hands and feet, blocks of wood that the slaves had to drag behind them wherever they went, the tin-plate mask designed to prevent the slaves eating the sugar-cane, the iron collar. Whipping was interrupted in order to pass a piece of hot wood on the buttocks of the victim; salt, pepper, citron, cinders, aloes, and hot ashes were poured on the bleeding wounds. Mutilations were common, limbs, ears, and sometimes the private parts, to deprive them of the pleasures which they could indulge in without expense. Their masters poured burning wax on their arms and hands and shoulders, emptied the boiling cane sugar over their heads, burned them alive, roasted them on slow fires, filled them with gunpowder and blew them up with a match; buried them up to the neck and smeared their heads with sugar that the flies might devour them; fastened them near to nests of ants or wasps; made them eat their excrement, drink their urine, and lick the saliva of other slaves. One colonist was known in moments of anger to throw himself on his slaves and stick his teeth into their flesh.[15]

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[15] The Black Jacobins (New York: Vintage Books, 2nd edition, 1963) pp. 12-13.

It must be realized that prior to being subjected to this physical treatment the African in all probability underwent substantial psychological shock and emotional stress upon being captured, enslaved, marched long distances, herded and crowded into "slave castles" on the coastlines of Africa, and then subjected to the long, arduous "one way passage" across the Atlantic under the most inhumane and barbarous conditions that men have experienced.

Quite clearly, from the beginning the education or socialization of black people in the new world was not to serve the interests of the oppressed but those of the oppressor. Other facets of the socialization of Blacks can be viewed in this very same light. Religious instruction, vocational training and sometimes scholastic instruction were provided to the slaves by elements of the white community. Woodson identifies three groups of whites who were involved in these aspects of black socialization:

> The early advocates of the education of Negroes were of three classes: first, masters who desired to increase the economic efficiency of their labor supply; second, sympathetic persons who wished to help the oppressed; and third, zealous missionaries who, believing that the message of divine love came equally to all, taught slaves the English language that they might learn the principles of the Christian religion.[16]

A fourth group that provided education to Blacks were Blacks themselves.

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[16] The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861, p. 2.

Slaveowners had much to gain from having slaves who had skills. In addition to providing efficient and skilled labor, thus saving the owner the cost of procuring it elsewhere, the skilled slave could be and often was, hired out to others, giving the owner additional returns on his investments.

Sympathetic or liberal whites gave Blacks instructions in reading and writing their language, be it French, Spanish, English or Dutch, depending upon time and place in history. Classes and sometimes schools were created where both black and white children were taught.

Religious instruction occurred with and without letters, again, depending upon the historical time period and locale. Religious instruction of the slaves was justified by missionaries on the grounds that it would make the slaves more obedient, more docile, and more willing to serve their masters. Selected passages from the scriptures were used for slave religious services. These passages usually were such that attempted to show that Blacks were natural slaves because of the curse of Ham, that it was the destiny of Blacks to be hewers of wood and drawers of water, and that salvation for the slave would come in the after life, especially if he was obedient and servile while on this earth.

Blacks themselves established certain institutions, traditions, processes and norms in the slave quarters and in the larger society. Many, if not most, of these were based on their African heritage, and substantial retentions of language forms, cultural practices, social norms and social organizational forms were and are to be found in the black community, past and present. Blassingame[17] and Herskovits[18] shed some light on these African survivals, their origins and their perpetuation in black life. Agricultural and technical skills learned in Africa were passed on to children in America, and in turn passed on to other generations. Folk traditions, such as story-telling, music, dance, religious beliefs, continue in the veins and spirits of African people in the new world. The vast majority of the slaves had little or no contact with whites. Those that did were either urban dwellers, domestic slaves, or black drivers and overseers. This minimal contact allowed various forms of Africanisms to survive and to be perpetuated. While some European institutions and habits were adopted, they, for the most part, were adapted to black ways of life.

Socialization beyond the spheres of white influence occurred on a systematic basis in the slave and free black communities. All the elements of this indigenous system of education, this grassroots means of preparing Blacks to live in their environment, have yet to be identified and documented.

Blacks have been exposed to the influences of two worlds in their educational history--one white, the other black.

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[17] The Slave Community.

[18] Melville J. Herskovits, The Myth of the Negro Past (Boston: Beacon Press, 1958).

While the remainder of this chapter treats the "white" side of black education it must be kept in mind that there was a black side to the education of black people, and that the history of this aspect of black education has yet to be written. By the "white side" of black education we mean the influence of whites on the education of Blacks, the interaction between Blacks and whites in the public and private educational arenas, and black involvement in and influence of pertinent educational developments in this country. To re-cast this in the language of the conceptual framework laid out earlier, the traditional (i.e. indigenous, grassroots, folk) aspects of black education will be treated most scantily here, while the formal, non-formal and informal aspects of it will receive the bulk of our attention. The international perspective of black education must also await another time for extensive discussion.

While we are unable to give the desirable and substantive exposure to the traditional history of the black educational experience, it must be emphasized that this was the most important influence in the lives of Blacks, that almost every black person was subjected to the socialization of the black family and the black community, that this socialization process had features unique and different from those of other groups in America, and that it is these features, along with other aspects of black life, that make for "black culture" and the "black experience". The fact that these elements of the traditional black educational experience have not been adequately and fully set forth by scholars of any color is a serious indictment against American scholarship in general, and American educational historiography and black scholarship in particular.

Our discussion covers these periods in chronological order: slavery, the American Civil War, Reconstruction, Post-Reconstruction through to 1954.

Slavery

In addition to the physical battle waged by white planters and white society to control the bodies of Blacks, a psychological war was carried out as well for control and command of the black mind and spirit. Part of the seasoning process was to instill in Blacks the "proper" attitude for their condition as slaves. Attempts were made to strip them of their cultural heritage. Laws were passed forbidding Africans to practice their own religions, to speak their own tongues, to beat drums or to blow horns. Their physical movement was restricted by laws and customs which required Blacks in transit on roads and highways to have a pass or to be in the company of a white person. Blacks could not congregate in groups larger than fours or fives, even at church, unless a white person was present. As James noted, these measures were taken to minimize slave rebellions, and to instill a sense of black inferiority in the minds of Blacks and whites.

Slave rebellions occurred nonetheless, and Blacks devised many ingenious methods for circumventing these and other barriers to their humanity.

De-Africanization and de-humanization, two aspects of the same process, were the keywords in white socialization attempts. Black resistance was a key aspect of black traditional education. This paradoxical duality is captured in these citations:

Edwina Johnson describes the white influence or impact:

> The Afro-American child learned that his family members were scattered through the auction of enslaved persons, learned to loiter in the fields, to sabotage the progress of field work, to feign illness as a means of escaping a day in the fields, learned to pretend to be "happy" to prevent a whipping, learned to bend his inner pride in order to survive the severity of enslaved life, learned that any posture of dignity on his part could lead to a severe beating or an instant removal to a worse locale. The Afro-American child, enslaved or free, learned that he was not a human being. This was the dehumanization stage of the education of the Afro-American.[19]

Blassingame points out the black antidote as:

> Having a distinctive culture helped the slaves to develop a strong sense of group solidarity. They united to protect themselves from the most oppressive features of slavery and to preserve their self-esteem. Despite their weakness as isolated individuals, they found some protection in the group from their masters. The code of the group, for example, called for support for those slaves who broke plantation rules. The most

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[19] Edwina C. Johnson, "An Alternative to Miseducation for the Afro-American People", in Nathan Wright, Jr. (ed.) What Black Educators Are Saying (New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., 1970), p. 201.

> important aspect of this group identification was that slaves were not solely dependent on the white man's cultural frames of reference for their ideals and values. As long as the plantation black had cultural norms and ideals, ways of verbalizing aggression, and roles in his life largely free from his master's control, he could preserve some personal autonomy, and resist infantilization, total identification with planters, and internalization of unflattering stereotypes calling for abject servility. The slave's culture bolstered his self-esteem, courage, and confidence, and served as his defense against personal degradation.[20]

and as:

> The love the slaves had for their parents reveals clearly the importance of the family. Although it was weak, although it was frequently broken, the slave family provided an important buffer, a refuge from the rigors of slavery. While the slave father could rarely protect the members of his family from abuse, he could often gain their love and respect in other ways. In his family, the slave not only learned how to avoid the blows of the master, but also drew on the love and sympathy of its members to raise his spirits. The family was, in short, an important survival mechanism.[21]

In this struggle for the control of the black mind religious, cultural, legal, economic, formal educational, and political institutions were used as instruments of war.

Carter G. Woodson delineates two major periods in the ante-bellum history of black education. The first ranges from the introduction of slavery until 1835 and the second from 1835 to the Civil War. Woodson describes the predominant thought of white society during each of these periods:

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[20] Blassingame, The Slave Community, pp. 75-76.

[21] Ibid., p. 103.

> The history of the education of the antebellum Negroes, therefore, falls into two periods. The first extends from the time of the introduction of slavery to the climax of the insurrectionary movement about 1835, when the majority of the people in this country answered in the affirmative the question whether or not it was prudent to educate their slaves. Then followed the second period, when the industrial revolution changed slavery from a patriarchal to an economic institution, and when intelligent Negroes, encouraged by abolitionists, made so many attempts to organize servile insurrections that the pendulum began to swing the other way. By this time most southern white people reached the conclusion that it was impossible to cultivate the minds of Negroes without arousing overmuch self-assertion.[22]

During this first period, after the American Revolutionary War and its concomitant rhetoric of liberty, justice, the natural rights of men, and equality, many slaves were freed in the South by their masters and in the North by the abolition of slavery in several northern states. The liberal spirit of enlightenment also sparked the creation of a number of schools to serve the specific interests and needs of these manumitted Blacks. "African Free Schools", as many were called, dotted the northern cities between 1790 and the 1840's. These were founded by abolitionists, religious groups and freed Blacks working together or separately. In southern and border state cities and towns such as Baltimore, Washington, Richmond, Charleston, and New Orleans, Blacks were engaged in establishing and maintaining black schools, usually without the assistance of whites. Woodson describes the rationale for and the activities of these schools:

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[22] *Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*, p. 2.

> Observing these evidences of a general uplift of the Negroes, certain educators advocated the establishment of special colored schools. The founding of these institutions, however, must not be understood as a movement to separate the children of the races on account of caste prejudice. The dual system resulted from an effort to meet the needs peculiar to a people just emerging from bondage. It was easily seen that their education should no longer be dominated by religion. Keeping the past of the Negroes in mind, their friends tried to unite the benefits of practical and cultural education. The teachers of colored schools offered courses in the industries along with advanced work in literature, mathematics, and science. Girls who specialized in sewing took lessons in French.[23]

In addition to widespread schooling, other institutions of enlightenment were founded by Blacks. Theatres, fraternal orders, benevolent and self-help societies, and intellectual circles were common to free Blacks, particularly those in the urban areas. Newspapers, books and other publications by Blacks were not uncommon.[24]

Religion and churches played an essential role in the educational lives of both freed and enslaved Blacks. To teach the Gospel to Blacks, missionaries found it necessary to instruct them in the English language and its literary aspect. Many churches established "sabbath-schools" which imparted instruction of a literary nature, as well as the doctrine of the supremacy of Christianity.[25]

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[23] *Ibid*., p. 6.

[24] See Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, pp. 222-234.

Black churches served many different purposes. They functioned as community centers, schools, meeting places, social centers, political and economic institutions, self-help organizations, as well as institutions to give spiritual and moral uplift to an oppressed, struggling people. They were the organizational hub of many aspects of black life, and especially the socialization process.

It is a well-known adage that says "All good things must come to end". And so be it with this period of enlightenment that was particularly evident between the late eighteenth century and the first three decades of the nineteenth. Carter G. Woodson describes how the combined forces of the Industrial Revolution and the numerous slave rebellions along with the Haitian Revolution doomed this semi-progressive movement of black enlightenment.

> ...The first of these forces was the world-wide industrial movement. It so revolutionized spinning and weaving that the resulting increased demand for cotton fiber gave rise to the plantation system of the South, which required a larger number of slaves. Becoming too numerous to be considered as included in the body politic as conceived by Locke, Montesquieu, and Blackstone, the slaves were generally doomed to live without any enlightenment whatever. Thereafter rich planters not only thought it unwise to educate men thus destined to live on a plane with beasts, but considered it more profitable to work a slave

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[25] See Charles C. Jones, The Religious Instruction of the Negroes in the United States (Savannah: Thomas Purse, 1842); and Woodson, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-50.

> to death during seven years and buy another in his stead than to teach and humanize him with a view to increasing his efficiency.
>
> The other force conducive to reaction was the circulation through intelligent Negroes of anti-slavery accounts of the wrongs to colored people and the well portrayed exploits of Toussaint L'Ouverture. Furthermore, refugees from Haiti settled in Baltimore, Norfolk, Charleston, and New Orleans, where they gave Negroes a first-hand story of how black men of the West Indies had righted their wrongs. At the same time certain abolitionists and not a few slaveholders were praising, in the presence of slaves, the bloody methods of the French Revolution. When this enlightenment became productive of such disorders that slaveholders lived in eternal dread of servile insurrection, Southern States adopted the thoroughly reactionary policy of making the education of Negroes impossible.[26]

Also during this reactionary period a school of thought emerged known as "ethnography" which had as its purpose to justify slavery and the oppression of black people on "scientific" grounds, and on the rationale of innate black inferiority. Many leading scholars and scientists of the day participated in this movement, which was widespread in both the North and South.[27]

While legal and social restrictions on the formal education of Blacks date back to 1740 in some states (South Carolina and Georgia), it was during the early and mid-years of the nineteenth century that proscriptions were widely adopted in this country by northern, southern and western states and local communities. Racism à la United States was fully entrenched. Even those whites who sought the abolition of slavery were not above believing in the inferiority of the black race. (They were usually the "environmentalists" of their day, ascribing the supposed inferiority of Blacks to their "degraded" status.)

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[26] Woodson, op. cit., pp. 7-8.

[27] For a fuller discussion of this movement see George Fredrickson, The Black Image in the White Mind (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1972), pp. 43-130; also see Robert C. Johnson, Jensenism in Contemporary and Historical Perspective: With Particular Emphasis on the Afro-American Experience, (St. Louis: Washington University, 1974).

Of course while formal and non-formal educational opportunities were being denied to Blacks on a large scale, the traditional, informal and international components of black education were still very much in force. In the face of the legal, physical, economic, and psychological hardships that white society cruelly placed upon Blacks, even inspite of them, black people devised numerous ingenious ways of acquiring knowledge, skills and information of literary and technical nature and of transmitting them to their children and to each other, often at risk of severe penalty or death.

The American Civil War

This war represents a milestone in the formal educational history of Black Americans. It was during this great national struggle and because of it that the first systems of free public schools for Blacks developed.

As Union forces conquered and occupied territory in the southern states, their camps were deluged with slaves escaping from bondage and seeking refuge behind Federal lines. Often carrying their personal belongings, many times possessing nothing, they arrived at the camps with very little, except great desires for freedom. Different camp commanders handled this delicate situation differently. Some turned the slaves back over to their old masters, others, for military reasons considered them contrabands of war and permitted them to stay, and still another group of Union army chiefs of abolitionist and religious bents, out of humanitarian concerns, provided for their immediate and long-range needs.

To assist the black refugees and to occupy their time, schools were established on the military bases. The first of these was founded at Fort Monroe, Virginia, in September, 1861. A black northern woman, educated in England, was the teacher. This school was to be the forerunner of Hampton Institute, which is now a famed black college. From this beginning military schools were founded across the South, from Louisiana to the District of Columbia.

General Banks of the Union Army is thought to be responsible for the most complete educational system for Blacks during this period. In October of 1863 he founded the first public schools in Louisiana. During the initial stages there were seven schools, twenty-three teachers and 1,422 students. In March of the following year, a board of education was created. As military commander of the state, he granted this board with the power to establish public schools, to acquire or to build school buildings, to employ teachers and to buy the necessary materials and supplies, in short to establish and maintain public schools. Later this board was given the power to impose and collect taxes on property and crops as a means of financing the schools. By December of 1864 ninety-five schools had been established, 162 teachers employed and 9,571 students enrolled. In 1865 the power of taxation was suspended. This action caused a great deal of consternation in the black community. They petitioned the general's headquarters, and in spite of their immense poverty offered to pay the expenses for the schooling of their children.

In Arkansas and Tennessee Colonel John Eaton, another Union officer, established school systems in these states. In addition to teaching the three r's, these systems had industrial schools to develop working habits and to teach useful domestic skills.

The Federal army was assisted in its educational (schooling) enterprise by a number of benevolent, religious and humanitarian groups and societies in the North. Responding to the appeals of the northern officers in the field for assistance, organizations--new and old--sent money, supplies and teachers to the South, either to establish schools or to assist those created by the military. Bullock describes this response:

> News of the various appeals spread rapidly to various corners of the North, and many people, even those who had been indifferent toward the anti-slavery cause, allowed themselves to become actively involved in fighting the conditions created by the emergency. Benevolent societies sprang up in quick succession to form a complex of freedmen associations that reached such cities as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, and Chicago in 1862-1863. The functions they carried out so well consisted mainly of providing clothing, food, money, religious leaders, and teachers for the refugees. Although these groups were nonsectarian, they were joined by church organizations that were to extend the program to include the freedmen's school system then in its germinal stage. Leading the entire group of these religious organizations was the American Missionary Association, which had been incorporated in 1849 for the purpose of operating Christian missions and educational institutions at home and abroad. The Baptist Church, North, was another of the many religious units that entered the field of freedmen's relief at this time. Its Home Mission Society, later to create many colleges for Negroes, was established in 1832 in order to preach the gospel in destitute regions. This society also entered upon the difficult problem of supplying trained leaders for work among the refugees. Joined by the Freedmen's Aid Society and the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, it helped dispense a great deal of money and many supplies through the Union Army.[28]

Gerda Lerner[29] has collected documents which show the role that Blacks, particularly black women, played in this massive undertaking. Blacks in both the North and the South freely shared their knowledge, their financial resources, and their organizational abilities with their less fortunated brethren, and often spearheaded relief efforts.

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[28] A History of Negro Education in the South, p. 19.

[29] Gerda Lerner (ed.), Black Women in White America: A Documentary History (New York: Vintage Books, 1973), pp. 92-118.

By the time of the war's end almost 300 philanthropic and church groups were operating schools in the South, many in conjunction with the Union Army.

Reconstruction: 1867-1876

Much can be said about Reconstruction from a black perspective and some black scholars have addressed themselves to this controversial period in American history. For our brief purposes, limited as they are to a review of the educational significance of this period, we will draw upon the works of those black scholars who have examined this aspect of U.S. history.

While the Civil War was the milestone in the formal educational history of Afro-Americans, the Reconstruction Era represents the keystone in this history. Building upon the rudiments of a school system laid down by the Army and the voluntary organizations, two forces, in essence, are responsible for the creation of tax-supported public school systems in the South. They are the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (generally known as the Freedmen's Bureau) and the Reconstruction legislatures of the various southern states. The pivotal element in both of these developments was the effort to assist Blacks gain a foothold in a new social order. It was out of this effort that the majority of all the people in the South derived benefits.

The Freedmen's Bureau. The Freedmen's Bureau was designed to aid the newly freedmen and women whose lot had been slavery. Of the conditions it encountered when it started its work, of its responsibilities and far-reaching authority DuBois says this of a "government within a government":

> On May 12, 1865, [General Oliver O.] Howard was appointed [Commissioner of the Bureau]; and he assumed the duties of his office promptly on the 15th, and began examining the field of work. A curious mess he looked upon: little despotisms, communistic experiments, slavery, peonage, business speculations, organized charity, unorganized almsgiving,--all reeling on under the guise of helping the freedmen, and all enshrined in the smoke and blood of war and the cursing and silence of angry men. On May 19 the new government--for a government it really was--issued its constitution; commissioners were to be appointed in each of the seceded states, who were to take charge of "all subjects relating to refugees and freedmen," and all relief and rations were to be given by their consent alone. The Bureau invited continued cooperation with benevolent societies, and declared: "It will be the object of all commissioners to introduce practicable systems of compensated labor," and to establish schools.[30]

On July 16, 1866, Congress enlarged and made permanent the Freedmen's Bureau. Again, DuBois is helpful in detailing the nature of this act:

> The act of 1866 gave the Freedmen's Bureau its final form,--the form by which it will be known to posterity and judged of men. It extended the existence of the Bureau to July, 1868; it authorized additional assistant commissioners, the retention of army officers mustered out of regular service, the sale of certain forfeited lands to freedmen on nominal terms, the sale of Confederate public property for Negro schools, and a wider field of judicial interpretation and cognizance. The government of the unreconstructed South was thus put very

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[30] W.E.B. DuBois, The Souls of Black Folks (New York: Crest Books, 1961, first published in 1903), pp. 29-30.

> largely in the hands of the Freedmen's Bureau, especially as in many cases the departmental military commander was now made also assistant commissioner. It was thus that the Freedmen's Bureau became a full-fledged government of men. It made laws, executed them and interpreted them; it laid and collected taxes, defined and punished crime, maintained and used military force, and dictated such measures as it thought necessary and proper for the accomplishment of its varied ends. Naturally, all these powers were not exercised continuously nor to their fullest extent; and yet, as General Howard has said, "scarcely any subject that has to be legislated upon in civil society failed, at one time or another, to demand the action of this singular Bureau."[31]

DuBois maintains that "The greatest success of the Freedmen's Bureau lay in the planting of the free school among Negroes, and the idea of free elementary education among all classes in the South."[32] Bullock echoes this sentiment and tells of the educational significance of the establishment of this governmental agency:

> From the point of view of the Negro's educational opportunities, however, the act was of even greater historical significance. It was to coordinate the many relief programs in operation and was to give official backing to teachers of the benevolent societies, who in their persistent efforts had been trying desperately to establish a complete school system for the freedmen. By this official step, Northern teachers of Negroes in the South had gained the protection of Union guns. Although the protection would be challenged by an active spirit of rebellion that military defeat failed to kill, it would remain long enough for the freedmen's school system to become an institutional fact in the South.[33]

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[31] Ibid., p.32.

[32] Ibid., pp. 35-36.

[33] Bullock, op. cit., p. 23.

Bond furthers the analysis and chronicles the accomplishments of this agency:

> Whatever its faults, the Freedmen's Bureau may justly be credited with the establishment of a widespread and fairly well organized system of free schools for Negroes in the South. In the five years of its operation, it was instrumental in the initiation of 4,239 separate schools. The extent of its work can further be gauged by the fact that it employed 9,307 teachers and instructed 247,333 pupils. The total expenditures for the schools operated under the protection of the Bureau amounted to more than three and one-half million dollars. To this sum the benevolent societies added more than a million and a half, and a conservative estimate of the contribution of Negroes in tuition fees and gifts to these schools is not less than a million dollars.[34]

Also, during the tenure of this agency many black colleges were founded.[35]

Southern Reconstruction Governments. The relationship between the educational work of the Freedmen's Bureau and the political life and activities of the "New South" has been aptly recognized by Lerner; she writes:

> ...Undoubtedly, the success of the Freedmen's Bureau schools laid the foundation for the establishment of public schools and for the enactment of tax legislation to maintain them. Southern Reconstruction governments incorporated most of these schools into the newly established state public school systems. During the short reign of racially integrated governments, Southern public schools were open to children of both races. It is significant that these public

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[34] Bond, The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order, p. 29.

[35] See Robert C. Johnson, Trends and Developments in Black Higher Education and Their Implications for the Black Community (St. Louis: Washington University, 1974), pp. 2-13.

> school systems survived the overthrow of the Reconstruction governments although the schools were later strictly segregated by race, with the black schools receiving inferior facilities and inadequate budgets.[36]

Prior to the Civil War the South, under the control of a landed, aristocratic elite, had been slow in developing systems of public education for white children, to say nothing of doing the same for black children in slavery. Between 1865 and 1867 when conversative legislative bodies regained control, the unreconstructed legislators either made no provisions for the schooling of Blacks or placed the responsibility for support upon taxes levied upon Blacks and not upon general tax funds.

It was the Reconstruction legislatures, many of them led by black politicians elected by black electorates, that instituted systems of universal free education for all children in the South. Blacks joined forces with northern whites (the so-called "carpetbaggers") and southern whites (supposedly "scalawags") to create a northern type of school system in the southern states, many times over the virulent and destructive opposition of white conservative and reactionary elements.

As in the past many of the black man's friends and allies were not convinced of his total humanity and during this period the issue of "mixed schools" arose. The battle lines over this issue are unchanged after a century plus of debate and national action and inaction. There were Blacks and whites on both sides of the issue. Most Blacks were uninterested in their children attending school with white children. Their interest lay in having the opportunity for formal education and in having the best of it that they could get. Bond observes the dilemma of this issue for that period:

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[36] Lerner (ed.), Black Women in White America, p. 93.

> The mixed-school issue was put forward by white idealists who believed that the separate school was undemocratic, and that only in this manner could equal opportunity be afforded all children. Negroes who supported the movement cared less for the higher principles involved, but were practical enough to see that separate schools meant inferior schools. They wished to use mixed schools as a lever to obtain equality in efficiency.
>
> Those who argued against mixed schools were right in believing that such a system was impossible in the South, but they were wrong in believing that the South could, or would, maintain equal schools for both races. Those who argued for mixed schools were right in believing that separate schools meant discrimination against Negroes, but they were opposed to the logic of history and the reality of human nature and racial prejudices.[37]

As it turned out separate school systems that received equal appropriations were established for black and white school children. As long as Blacks held effective political power, it was possible to guarantee equality in education opportunity for both races.

In addition to the issue of "mixed" schools, there were some who questioned the feasibility of providing any schooling to Blacks, considering them to be animals, incapable of learning. *Paradoxically, these same people felt that* formal schooling provided to Blacks made educated Blacks "dangerous", that is, unaccepting of and unsuited to the repressive and degrading circumstances that they imposed upon Blacks. These reactionaries and bigots feared the rationality and intelligence that formal schooling helps to impart. If Blacks were incapable of benefiting from schooling or enlightenment of a formal nature then why oppose their education, what good could it do? Quite obviously the racists had to recognize the human desire to improve one's lot in life in Blacks, and this awareness of the humanness of Blacks was the reason for their wanting to curtail the opportunities opened to Blacks. These reactionaries came to have their day.

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[37] Bond, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-57.

Post-Reconstruction: 1877-1954

It is during this period in our recent history that formal schooling for Blacks shifted from the Civil War and Reconstruction efforts to make it a tool of social advancement and racial uplift to become a means of social control and repression of Blacks.

As happened after the American Revolutionary War and its progressive period, a reactionary mood prevailed across the country and brought Reconstruction and the endeavor to carve a spot in Southern society for Blacks by establishing a new social order to a screeching halt.

Following the collapse of Reconstruction with the election of Rutherford B. Hayes in 1876, the only institutions and social rights and privileges that remained to the black population after the political compromise of 1877 were in the areas of education and religion. Black education survived, although it was highly compromised, while in the political, economic, and social aspects of life, Blacks were disfranchised. Black churches and black schools met many of the social needs and problems of black people, although with limitations.

A number of events were occurring North and South which doomed and sealed the educational fate of Afro-Americans. It is impossible to adequately review them in detail here. The following outline presents some of the highlights of this era.

Politically and Legally

- Political disfranchisement of Blacks occur in part through the legal and judicial system with these actions paving the way:

  1873, U. S. Supreme Court hands down a decision which limits protection of "due process" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment only to national, and not to state, citizenship rights.

  1876, U. S. Supreme Court rules against punishing persons who broke up a black political meeting on the grounds that the meeting did not concern a National Election.

1883, In the *Civil Rights Cases*, U.S. Supreme Court strikes down sections of the Civil Rights Act of 1875 that prohibit discrimination in places of public accommodation.

1896, In Plessy v. Ferguson, U.S. Supreme Court establishes the "separate but equal" doctrine.

1901, Last post-Reconstruction black congressman, George H. White leaves office at the end of his term.

- World War I; Blacks continued to be used as cannon fodder abroad and denied rights at home.
- NAACP begins its series of legal battles against segregation; small legal gains are made.
- Franklin Roosevelt and "New Deal" appear on the scene.
- Black Civil Rights activities continue with a variety of tactics being employed.
- World War II; same as with all other wars for "democracy", it is fought under racist conditions.
- Cold War
- Rise of black, brown, yellow nations and nationalism in the world.
- Federal government begins to move against segregation (but not racism) under domestic and international pressures.

Economically

- The U.S. attempts to become world economic and industrial power. It hopes to capture its share of the world market and to compete with European imperialist and industrial labor force trained in the requisite skills.
- An economic depression in 1893-1894 hits the U.S. and particularly the South. White

workers and farmers present a serious popular front against the economic policies of the power-wielders of the day. A black and white grassroots movement manifested itself in the Populist movement.

- In the North immigrants poured into this country, working in the factories, forming unions and raising hell about their exploitive working conditions and arrangements.

- There is a rise in big business and capitalism and the motto "What is good for business, is good for America" became the credo of the country as industrialists influenced almost every aspect of American life, especially the political and economic.

Socially

- Segregated facilities and institutions became the order of the day.

- Lynchings, beatings, burnings and destruction of property were common crimes perpetuated against Blacks.

- Theories and "scientific" studies "proving" the inferiority of Blacks abound.

- Social classes emerge more sharply as wealth is further consolidated in the hands of a few.

- Philanthrophy becomes an institutional part of American life.

Educationally

- The National Association of Manufacturers influences American schools to become centers of industrial education to serve their labor needs and to subvert union activities.

- Social reformers embrace industrial education as a plank in their reform platform.

All of these developments and others had very direct impact on the traditional, formal, non-formal, informal and international aspects of black (and American) education. The most obvious of these was the limitation of social opportunities for Blacks to formal education, and in turn the attempt to limit this to industrial education. Governments, church groups and private philanthropy controlled the formal educational fare of Blacks in order to control and to inhibit black progress. Bullock captures this phenomenon when he notes:

> The industrial curriculum to which many Negro children were exposed, supposedly designed to meet their needs, reflected the life that accompanied their status at that time. They had always farmed. The curriculum aimed to make them better farmers. Negro women had a virtual monopoly on laundering, and Negro men had largely worked as mechanics. The industrial curriculum was designed to change this only in so far that Negroes were trained to perform these services better. A measure of the wisdom of this type of educational philosophy was to come later. It was to come in the attitude of management toward the use of Negro labor at the level of skill on which this type of training placed them. Nonindustrial training did occur at all levels, but most of this served either to prepare Negro teachers for Negro schools or to prepare Negro professionals for service in the Negro community. Through this system of "Negro education", serious blockages occurred in the diffusion of the general culture to members of the race.[38]

A vicious circle was created and perpetuated: the "education" of Blacks was to serve social, political and economic purposes of the larger society. The larger society restricted (eliminated) the social, political and economic privileges, rights and opportunities of Blacks and then so structured their "education" to fit these conditions. It also supported a campaign to "prove scientifically" the natural inferiority of the black race to justify all of its actions and deeds, and to convince Blacks of the "naturalness" of their degraded conditions. White society instituted a system of brutality, carried out by quasi-legal vigilante groups such as the Klu Klux Klan, to enforce the laws and customs it had of proscribing black progress and to "encourage" Blacks to stay in their places. This negative socialization reinforced earlier patterns of black deprecation and has marked the black community with elements of negative self-concept from which it has yet to recover.

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[38] Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South, p. 88.

The black response to these "marks of oppression" has been variegated. Legal battles against school segregation have been waged in the courts throughout the twentieth century. Black pride movements and advocates such as the Harlem Renaissance, various Black Nationalists movements of the twenties and thirties of this century (of which Marcus Garvey's is the best known), the corresponding, but sometimes conflicting Pan-Africanist tendencies, and such men as Garvey, DuBois, Woodson, George Padmore and a host of others sought to give Blacks an historical and cultural foundation on which to stand and to combat the myths and distortions about black life and black heritage that were widely propogated by a racist society through all of its institutions. Churches and religious sects, such as the Father Divine, Noble Drew Ali, Prophet Cherry and "Daddy" Grace movements, provided Blacks with a spiritual and divine outlet to the earthly hell they found around them. (This outlet also allowed many black "religious leaders" to enrich themselves.) Marxist thought was adopted by some black intellectuals and communism was their form of religious salvation. Black labor unions were organized by black workers to enhance and to protect their slim economic holdings. Black "integrationists" sought to assimilate into the mainstream; and many Blacks, especially the more middle-classish ones, tried to become Afro-Saxons, hoping that acquisition of material goods and white values would qualify them to be excused from American racism.[39]

Conclusions

From this analysis and review of black educational history, we can distill the following points:

1. Every since his forced introduction into the Americas the black man had to contend with white control and influence over his education, socialization and eventually his schooling. While at times (during the Revolutionary War Period and during the Civil War and Reconstruction) the Afro-American has derived some benefit from his contacts with whites, it has usually been the case that black "education" has been contrived and regulated to fit the needs and self-interests of whites (missionaries, abolitionists, slave-owners, industrialists, philanthropists, etc.). From the "seasoning" process to the industrial education and separate-but-equal schools movements, white influence in

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[39] Several excellent works deal with these topics in detail; see for example, Carter G. Woodson, Mis-education of the Negro; E. Franklin Frazier, The Black Bourgeoisie and The Negro Church in America; Harold Cruse, Crisis of the Negro Intellectual; Frantz Fanon, Black Skin, White Masks. (Full reference for these works can be found in the bibliography.

the socialization and education of Blacks has generally served to be a means of social control over Blacks and usually was designed to keep Blacks in "their place". White input into black education, with notable and rare exceptions, has always been to the detriment of black interest and development. Even where it has been put forth with good intentions, it is often misguided and loathe with paternalism and subtle racism, generally of the form--"Let's make the poor, little niggers like us". Table I presents a partial list of white groups and organizations who have played influential roles in the education of Blacks.

2. Black education has encompassed and has been affected by technology. One reason Africans were selected for slavery was because they possessed certain agricultural and technical skills, training and experiences needed to exploit the lands stolen from the Original Americans. In their own societies and cultures Africans were highly skilled craftsmen, artisans, farmers, metalworkers, wood and stone carvers, etc. and had a highly elaborate system for transmitting these skills to their children.[40] Even after reaching these shores these skills and knowledge, along with those acquired here, were passed along from generation to generation by various means. In this country technology developments such as the Industrial Revolution and the growth of American and world industry of the 19th and 20th centuries respectively, have drastically impacted black life in general and black socialization and education in particular.

3. Blacks have always maintained a strong interest and faith in education of all types. Traditional socializing institutions, such as the home, the church, the community, etc. have long been dear to black folks. The schools and other formal and non-formal training agencies (colleges, unions, etc.) have been viewed as means to an end, tools for social, political, cultural, economic and spiritual liberation, development, uplift and advancement. Sometimes they have circumvented the strictures and structures of the institutions that whites have imposed upon them and used them to advantage; other times these institutions have been the demise of black people.

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[40] See Abdou Moumouni, Education in Africa (London: Andre Deutsch, 1968), Chapter one.

TABLE I

Some White Groups and Organizations That Had a Prominent Part in the Education of Blacks Prior to and During The First Part of the 20th Century.

- Slave Owners
- Slave Owner's Children
- Presbyterians
- Quakers
- Huguenots
- American Missionary Association
- Baptist Church, North
- Methodist Episcopal Church
- Freemen's Aid for Society
- Freemen's School System
- Freemen's Bureau
- Home Mission Society
- Northern Civil War Generals
- National Freemen's Relief Association
- Union Government
- Monthly Concert of Prayer for Missions
- Manumission Society
- Abolitionists
- Wealthy Northern Individuals
- Northern Political Leaders
- George Peabody Fund
- Rosenwald Fund
- Southern Education Board
- General Education Board
- John F. Slater Fund
- Anna T. Jeanes Fund
- Phelps-Stokes Fund

Chapter 4*

RECENT TRENDS AND DEVELOPMENTS IN THE EDUCATION OF BLACK PEOPLE

This chapter while entitled "Recent Trends and Developments in the Education of Black People" actually examines the latest occurrences in the schooling or formal education of Blacks. Events of interest related to the larger black socialization process are discussed in other chapters.

In recent times the legacy of inferior, irrelevant, and mis-educating schooling for Blacks has spawned a number of movements and counter-movements in the domain of public schooling for Blacks. Several tendencies are discernible, advanced by Blacks and non-Blacks alike. Many times the approaches are conflicting and competing, and rarely do they merge to form a collective effort against the ills that

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*Some of the material in this chapter is drawn from recent works by this author. They are: *Jensenism in Contemporary and Historical Perspective with Particular Emphasis on the Afro-American Experience*. Mimeographed. St. Louis, Mo: Washington University, 1974; *Impacts of PPBS (Programming, Planning, and Budgeting System) in Education Management*. St. Louis, Mo.: Program in Technology and Human Affairs, Washington University, Report no. THA 74/2, January 1974. With Jackson, O.A. *et al*.; "Technology, Black Educators, and the Education of Black Children". Mimeographed. St. Louis, Mo.: Washington University, 1974; *Trends and Developments in Black Higher Education and Their Implications for the Black Community*. Mimeographed. St. Louis, Mo.: Washington University, 1974; and, lecture notes.

plague Blacks trapped in public school systems. In this chapter we try to delineate and to analysis these various approaches to the *formal educational plight of Black Americans.* For the most part these issues are treated in the order that they appeared chronologically on the educational scene. The relationships among the various movements will be drawn. These movements are highly interrelated and oftentimes they are separated only for purposes of analysis and discussion. Also, each approach, movement, or "panacea" discussed below is still evident in and on the American educational scene to some degree or another. None of them can be considered "dead". Of course, the amount of attention that is given to any one of these issues is a function of mass media, which can make or break a movement to a great extent. Figure 1 presents a schematic representation of these developments and their associations.

A critical assessment is made of each of these developments. Furthermore, given the loose and confusing use of terms, even by those who employ them frequently, we will specify what we mean by the terms and what we think the terms imply.

Integration, Desegregation and Segregation

"Integration" is constantly thought of as the solution to "segregation". Segregation, declared to be a social and legal bad guy by the United States Supreme Court in 1954-55, has long been practiced in American formal schooling and in

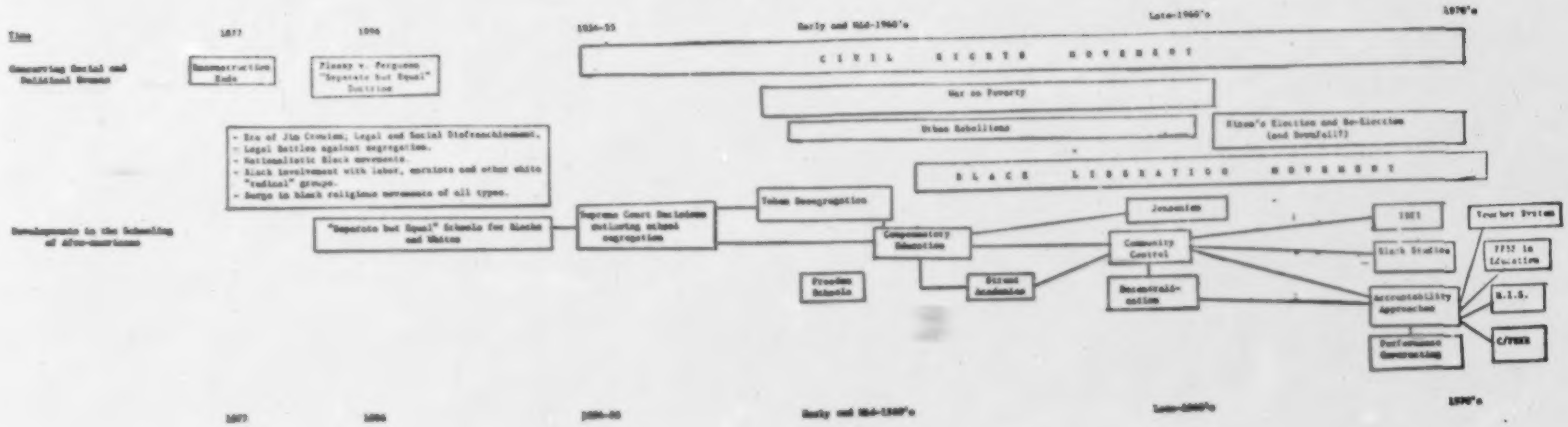
Time
1877
1896
1954-55
Early and Mid-1960's
Late-1960's
1970's
Concurring Social and Political Trends
Reconstruction Ends
Plessy v. Ferguson "Separate but Equal" Doctrine
CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT
War on Poverty
Urban Rebellions
Nixon's Election and Re-Election (and Downfall?)
BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT
- Era of Jim Crowism; Legal and Social Disfranchisement.
- Legal Battles against segregation.
- Nationalistic Black movements.
- Black involvement with labor, marxists and other white "radical" groups.
- Surge in black religious movements of all types.
Developments in the Schooling of Afro-americans
"Separate but Equal" Schools for Blacks and Whites
Supreme Court Decisions outlawing school segregation
Token Desegregation
Freedom Schools
Compensatory Education
Street Academies
Jensenism
Community Control
Decentralization
Black Studies
Accountability Approaches
Performance Contracting
Voucher System
PPBS in Education
M.I.S.
C/PBTE
1877
1896
1954-55
Early and Mid-1960's
Late-1960's
1970's

Figure 1

Recent Trends and Developments in the Schooling Component of Black Socialization

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most aspects of America's institutional life. Segregation has long been considered an enemy to the proper education of Blacks (however this is defined) by Blacks and their friends. Segregation in education, or so-called "separate but equal" schools and colleges, has resulted in inferior, poor quality schooling for Blacks, with unequal expenditures for facilities, curricula, teacher salaries and training and extracurricular activities.

Many activists and observers felt that an end to segregated condition in education (and in other phases of American life) would be a means of achieving "equality of educational opportunity" and "quality education". To this end a long, hard and systematic battle was waged against legal segregation in public schooling. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) initiated a series of law suits against public institutions preventing Blacks from attending them. An early strategy was to concentrate on public institutions of higher education. Later the organization, realizing that the masses of Blacks were in the public school system, changed its focus of attack to this level. By 1952 five cases were before the U. S. Supreme Court directly challenging the Plessy vs. Ferguson doctrine which upheld "separate but equal"-ness in the total social structure of America. Four of these cases were presented and handled by NAACP lawyers, and constituted the suit on which the court was to address itself.

On May 17, 1954 the United States Supreme Court handed down its response to and judicial decision on the legal question:

> Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities?[41]

Basing their decision on the 14th Amendment's guarantee of the equal protection of the laws, the Justices answered "We believe that it does" and "We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."[42] The rationale for this last sentence is to be found in social science research which purportedly showed that segregated education had detrimental effects on black children. This judicial body cites a statement by a lower court in Kansas:

> "Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to retard the educational and mental development of Negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racially integrated school system."[43]

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[41] Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 347 US 483, 74 S. Ct.086,96 L.Ed. 873 (1954). [Case No. 82].

[42] Ibid.

[43] Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 349 U.S. 294, 75 S.Ct.753, 99 L.Ed. 1083 (1955). [Case No. 83]

and makes reference to several studies examining this phenomenon.

The Court a year later required the schools to proceed "with all deliberate speed" to "admit the parties to these cases to public schools on a racially nondiscriminatory basis".[44]

There are a number of interesting issues involved in these decisions--those of racial disrcimination and segregation and their supposed effects on black children, that of "equality of opportunity", along with several others. It is important and crucial to note that the Court has in essence defined equality of educational opportunity as racially integrated schooling and in so doing limited it to this. "Racially integrated" schools generally meant all or predominantely white schools absorbing some Blacks. It is assumed that "quality education" can only be attained at white schools. Implicit in the statement "Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal" (my emphasis) is the idea that Blacks cannot learn well or very well unless they are in the presence of whites. The converse does not appear to be true. Dr. Kenneth Clark, a black psychologist who gave expert testimony in the 1954 Brown v. The Board of Education case notes this very interesting and important point about the Court's citation of data indicating the harm that segregation effects on black children:

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[44] Ibid.

> I would like to remind you that in the preparation of the social science appendix submitted to the Supreme Court in the Brown decision, a considerable amount of attention was paid to the outcome of segregated education on dominant-group children. The court in its wisdom, however, chose to ignore this fact, but some of us still believe that it is an important part of the problem of racism in American education--namely, that not only are lower-status minority children damaged by segregation, but the pervasive component of racism damages in subtle ways the education of privileged children as well.[45]

The Court saw fit to make equality of educational opportunity not only a one-way deal, but also a very limited deal.

Here confused thinking is evident in this decision. In declaring racial discrimination in public education illegal which is a solid political, legal and moral decision, the Court went several steps further and said without qualification that nothing that is all-black or predominately black is good or "equal". I ask the reader to think carefully and hard about the phase "Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal". The Supreme Court in its liberalism showed its racism and paternalism. It is understandable, given the social climate and political realities of the day, and the press of recent and past history which showed the deep, deep ingrained racism in America's social fibers, that reasonable people would assume that given an opportunity this racism would manifest itself. But to assume that under all conditions and through all time that anything that was racial in nature, more specifically that anything that was basically all black was automatically and inherently inferior is to express racism in another manner.

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[45] Harold Howe, Kenneth B. Clark et al. Racism and American Education (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1970), pp. 7-8.

The studies that were used to undergird this rationale were few, and today, with the advent of the black pride and "black is beautiful" developments, they conflict with what recent studies have shown about black students' images of themselves in all black or mostly black settings. Many scholars have questioned and criticized the black negative self-concept thesis which underlay the older studies. But nonetheless the law of the land rests on this kind of reasoning.

Lest confusion sets in, let it be made clear what is at issue here. The court ordering of the dismantling of segregated school systems and declaring racial discrimination in public education illegal are commendable acts. Its reasoning that quality education and equality of educational opportunity for black children are to be had only in the presence of white children are not. This line of reasoning is also illogical. If one was to carry it to its logical conclusion then all the children of color in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the West Indies would have to be "bussed" (or "jetted" or "boatted") to Europe, Australia, North America or somewhere else where whites are in order to receive a "quality" education.

The legality and constitutionality of this judicial reasoning have also been called into question. Donald L. W. Howie, of Yale University Law School has written a perceptive, stimulating and critical piece[46] on the Brown decision. He attacks it on moral, philosophical, legalistic, constitutional and social grounds, and from a black perspective. This article is highly recommendable to those interested in clarity of this issue.

"Segregation" is the lawful, willful or deliberate action to maintain different facilities, opportunities and institutions for people of different races. It entails enjoining and prohibiting members of one race from enjoying benefits, rights, privileges and opportunities available to others; it does so by law or custom. On the other hand, the concept of "separation" implies that people of like inclination, taste, background and interest form a group or entity different and distinct from others. This is a voluntary action and it does not entail excluding others on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin, although the group may be composed of and formed around religious, cultural, racial, national origin or other special interests and concerns. In other words organizations and institutions such as the Catholic Church, an Ukrainian-American club, the Knights of Columbus, black churches and fraternities, may be

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[46] "The Image of Black People in Brown v. Board of Education", Journal of Black Studies, Vol. 3, No. 3 (March 1973), pp. 371-384.

"separate" organizations without being segregated. That many separate white organizations do practice segregation is well recognized. And it is for this reason that the illegality of this social ill is a positive outcome of the Court's deliberations.

"Integration" usually connotes the idea of forming a new whole from diverse and equal parts. That is, all the parts lose their identities and properties as a totally new entity is formed. Clearly the Supreme Court (and the American public) did not have this in mind with the Brown decision. First of all, Blacks were not considered equal, but inferior. Secondly, by the Court's ignoring of evidence that spoke to a two-way, dialectic process of race relations, it is clear that it did not mean for white schools to lose their inherent characteristics, but simply to absorb Blacks within them. This is commonly known as assimilation. In the great tradition of the "Melting Pot" theory (myth) it appears to have been assumed that by absorbing Blacks into the "system" they will become black white men. This line of thinking was prevailing among liberals from the 1930's until the 1960's. It is obvious that this reasoning found its way into the Brown decision.

The dilemma that these issues pose for Blacks and for America is how to maintain and encourage pluralism while eradicating segregation and racial discrimination and without permitting these ills to linger under the guise of "seperatism" or plurality. Pluralism or cultural, ethnic, religious and social diversity has recently been recognized as 1) a good thing for American life and 2) a reality of the American present and past. The fact that there are and always have been groupings in America along racial, ethnic, religious, cultural lines is becoming more accepted and this plurality is being encouraged. It was the nationalistic fervor of Blacks that set off similar movements among all the minority groups in America. (It must be remembered that America consists of minority groups, although its culture is dominated by that of only one of the minorities--WASP-ism.)

"Desegregation" is the process of dismantling the dual system of segregated schooling in communities North and South. It is not synonomous with "integration"; it is more akin to "assimilation". Without concomittant changes in structure, policy, curricula, activities, educational philosophies, personnel, etc. to ensure just treatment, recognition and respect of black children, their cultural heritage and their present day conditions and needs, the simple physical placement of black children in previously all white schools is to do them a great disservice and to expose them to untold harm of a psychological, social and cultural nature. The "culture" of the schools reflects that of the dominant value system in this country--middle-class, WASP-ism, and Blacks and other ethnic and poor people surely do not possess these "qualities".

A related issue to segregation, desegregation and integration is "busing". School busing has been a means for getting millions of children to and from school for decades (actually for over a century). With the Supreme Court decision busing has taken on political and moral overtones as it has been used as a method of achieving desegregation. All too often busing is the "buzz" word and the keyword in the matter of desegregation. It is automatically assumed that if one is for busing than one is for something called "equality of educational opportunity" or "quality education" and if one is against it, then one is either a "racist" (if he or she is white) or a "separatist" or "extremist" (if one is black). However, busing is only the means and not the end in this matter. What must be addressed is the ultimate goal. The issues and terms must be clearly delineated and clarified.

Is "desegregation" necessarily "quality education" or "equal educational opportunity"? It all depends on how one views these terms and on what meanings one assigns to them. Different people have different meanings for them and these meanings are tied to political ideologies, philosophical ontologies and social perceptions and ideals. While the range and variation of opinions are great, it is clear that those who assume that "quality education" for Blacks can only be had when or as assimilation occurs are either white supremacists or confused and assimilated negroes, that is Afro-Saxons. It is a naive and very dangerous assumption to assume that what is good and proper for white children is necessarily good and proper for black children. Their needs are different, their social histories are different, their heritages are different, their present circumstances and conditions are different, and their futures in this country are most likely going to be different. It is granted that there are certain basic commonalities among all people, but the political, economic, social, and historical realities of America must be faced. While some programs, techniques, materials, ideas and ideals have universal application and utility, it cannot be denied that the one-sideness in the formal schooling structure, philosophy, practices and programs have all too often been to the detriment of black children in particular and of black people in general.

Not only is desegregation not necessarily good, but it has caused some real problems for black children and the black community. Black students have been subjected to a great deal of verbal and psychological abuse from their white classmates, teachers, and the administrators. Curricula usually do not reflect their cultural heritage and contributions, and tend to portray their people as the "savages" of Africa and the "slaves" of America. They encounter racial hostility and discrimination in many forms and places, in the classroom; in extra-curricular activities; in prizes, honors, and scholarship; etc. Dr. James Cheeks, president of Howard University, reports the following negative effects that desegregation has had on black communities:

> A study released in July of this year, under the auspices of the Southern Regional Council, and the National Urban League, reported that southern black communities were 30,000 jobs and $250 million poorer as a result of desegregation in the public schools. This study also revealed the dismissal of veteran black teachers and the failure to hire black college graduates.[47]

In addition to these effects, Blacks are in danger of losing institutions which they control in the name of abolishing racially identifiable institutions.

Edmund W. Gordon, in an editorial commentary, covers essentially the current state of affairs as to the black and "minority" perspective on the issues of integration, segregation, desegregation, and pluralism. We end this section on his note:

> What was not so clearly indicated but could have been anticipated is the growing absence of support for ethnic integration in the schools among blacks and other ethnic minority groups. What appears to be overwhelming support for the elimination of segregation by ethnic groups, does not appear to be matched by equal support for the abolition of separation. With the resurgence of cultural nationalism among the several ethnic minority groups and the growing recognition that segregation in schools is but a reflection of more pervasive discriminatory patterns endemic to the society, desegregation is seen by a vocal minority among blacks and other ethnic groups as weakening their cultural-political base and as diverting attention from the broader political and economic changes which must occur before equal opportunity of any kind becomes viable. In the absence of these changes, they argue, desegregating the schools results in some improvement in the achievement levels of some minority group children, considerable reduction of the role and participation of minority group educators in the delivery of educational services, and further exclusion

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[47] "Should Our Black Colleges Be Saved?", Balsa Reports Vol. 3, No. 2 (Winter 1974), p. 19.

> of the minority group community from participation in decision-making concerning a major community institution. In addition, it is argued that school desegregation efforts contribute to the impression that the composition of student bodies is important, leading to the disregard of the functions to be served by schooling for the population served and the goodness with which those functions are served. For these reasons they reject, or at least refuse, to support most efforts at ethnic integration in the schools.[48]

Compensatory Education and the Cult of Cultural Deprivation

This strategy to achieve "quality education" and "equality of educational opportunity" appears on the scene in the mid-sixties. With the Civil Rights movement and its demonstrations, boycotts and widespread publicity, with the urban riots and with white resistance to court-ordered desegregation, a sense of urgency and emergency prevailed. To pacify the "natives" programs were developed, laws passed, and rhetoric abounded, to give the impression that progress was being made, and that responses to the incessant demands for "Freedom Now", "Equality Now" were forthcoming.

In the area of schooling, programs and proposals were drawn up to meet the needs of the masses of black children in urban areas who were not being tokenly "integrated" into white schools. School desegregation was progressing "with all deliberate speed"; it was not happening. White parents, teachers and communities resisted. Blacks were not interested in the issue. (It must be realized that only a small, but vocal, interracial group actively pushed for and advocated "integration",[49] and that the vast majority of Blacks had no association with these groups.) And, the concerns of white liberals and Blacks began to turn to the fact that schools were failing black children. (Some would say that black children were failing in the schools; this difference in stating this phenomenon is more than exercise in phraseology, as we will soon see.) Using national, standardized achievement tests it was observed that black children consistently scored lower than the national norm. Demands by parents and community people were made for improvement of this and other conditions in the schools: high dropout rates, poor and inadequate facilities, materials and supplies, insensitive and racist teaching and administrative personnel staffing the schools, etc.

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[48] "Editor's Commentary: Background to the Issue" [on busing], NCRIEEO Newsletter Vol. 3, No. 2 (May 1972), p. 2.

As with other Great Society and New Frontiers programs of the Johnson and Kennedy administrations, white social scientists were called in to provide solutions to these "problems". These "whiz kids" were thought to have all the tools to provide all the answers. What they came up with for urban and rural education is called "compensatory education".

This line of thinking says, in essence, that black children have in their environment--home, school, and communities--certain "deficiencies" which prevent them from succeeding, or from doing as well as non-disadvantaged (i.e. white, middle-, upper-class) children in schools, using standardized tests as the dependent criteria. Low income, no father in the home, lack of reading materials in the home, no parental verbal stimulation, unfamiliarity with cultural amenities (such as operas and museums), etc. are among the many "variables" identified as the causes of black children's poor performance in schools. In essence, this school of thought would have us believe that since the background and environment of poor Blacks differ significantly from that of middle- and upper-class whites then these Blacks have no culture, or they have a "culture of poverty", hence the terms "culturally deprived", "educationally disadvantaged", "linguistically deficient" and a host of other negative labels and euphemisms.

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[49] See Robert L. Crain, The Politics of School Desegregation (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1969).

The strategy then, based on these analyses, was to provide impoverished Blacks with a compensating experience that would give them the desirable culture. "Compensatory education" programs were the operations designed to execute this strategy. Remedial and enrichment programs were created and implemented to transmit the "desired" habits, attitudes, values, and behaviors to the "disadvantaged" and the "deprived", and to bring them up to "normal standards".

Many criticisms of this school of thought abound. To adequately analyze and document the fallacies, inadequacies, and harmfulness of this thesis, several volumes would be in order. Since time, space nor purpose permit no more than a passing review of this theme, our examination of it such be brief, but, hopefully, to the point.

Implicit in this view, as in the jensenist view, is that there is something wrong with black people (and other non-whites and poor people). Given the phenomenon of a mismatch between school culture and home environment, the Cultists of the cult of culture deprivation chose to view the home environment as the culprit. This takes the onus off the schools, and places it all on the home, the community, the parents and the children. It could not be that racist and/or insensitive teachers; irrelevant textbooks and curricula; outmoded policies, structures and practices; unidentified and unmet needs; inadequate performance measures, and a host of other conditions in the schools were partially, mostly or fully responsible for black students not acquiring the requisite skills and knowledge. Instead this cult decided to engage in "victim analysis" and, in essence, to play the "blame the victim" game.

A major tenet of this philosophy was to "assimilate" these poor pagans into the "richer" culture of the middle-class. Here is one proponent's suggestion of how assimilation through the schools can be achieved:

> The basic instruments of successful assimilation are three: education, assistance, and involvement. The greatest of these is education. None will deny that the most important tools in the assimilation of the foreign born a generation and

> more ago were the several educational agencies that were made available. Particularly effective were the public day and night schools. Once again the public schools must bear the brunt of the burden. Again the resources must be mustered to work with both the children and the adults who need help in becoming a bit more urban and more middle-class in their aspirations, in their values and attitudes, and in their daily behavior. Certainly no one seriously believes this tremendous transformation of hundreds of thousands of people can occur quickly or easily. It took a long time to produce the residents of depressed urban areas and it will take even longer to assimilate them to function adequately in the complex urban environment.[50]

This attitude amounts to the highest form of cultural imperialism.[51]

There can be little doubt that this approach was doomed to failure before it started. The advocates of it tended to share biases and problems of most white social scientists who attempt to investigate and resolve issues facing Blacks and other oppressed groups. Basically, they frame and pose questions only in terms of 1) their values and life experiences and 2) the skills they had to answer them. Coming into black communities with built-in and unrecognized biases and perceptions of the world they tried (try) to implant them on people of different cultures and values. They also had (have) a limited repertoire to work from; their models, paradigms, theories and data bases often were not drawn from the populations they were working with (on) but rather from their white, middle-class world.

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[50] Mel Ravitz, "The Role of the School in the Urban Setting", in A. Harry Passow (ed.), Education in Depressed Areas (New York: Teachers College Press, 1963) pp. 14-15.

[51] For those unfamiliar with this term see Martin Carnoy, Education as Cultural Imperialism (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1974).

The Cultists have failed miserably in their efforts to raise pupil performance. Quite obviously their theories and programs are incompatible with the realities of black life.

Their failures have given rise to other developments--comunity control and other "accountability" tendencies, and "jensenism". We now turn to examine this latter philosophy because of its closeness to the compensatory education approach, although it proposes to be at odds with it.

Jensenism

The term "jensenism" has recently been coined by the popular press (New York Times and the Wall Street Journal) and has been used by many academics to refer to a school of thought which basically holds these views:

a) IQ tests are valid and reliable measures of "intelligence"

b) IQ is highly heritable (IQ is equated with "intelligence", which is narrowly defined as what IQ tests measures)

c) That differences in IQ test scores between Blacks and whites (which average about 15 points) arise from genetic rather than environmental sources and that social class differences can also be accounted for by genetic factors

d) That occupational and scholastic success correlates well with IQ test scores and is caused by differences in intelligence

e) That a mathematical (statistical) model to determine the heritability (h^2) of a phenotypic trait (in this case intelligence) in humans is both possible and fairly accurate

f) That compensatory educational programs for "disadvantaged" children have failed and efforts of this sort are misguided and fruitless

g) That there are basically two types of learning-intelligence (abstract reasoning ability) and associative learning ability

h) That "dysgenic trends" threaten the fabric and well-being of society.

The new "hereditarians", as proponents of this line of thought are commonly called, adhere to most or all of these points. The intellectual godfather for this mode of thinking is Arthur Robert Jensen, a professor of educational psychology at the University of California, Berkeley, whose article, "How Much Can We Boost IQ and Scholastic Achievement?"[52] sounded the battle cry against the "environmentalists".[53] Jensen in a later piece gives this critique of the position of those who maintain that black-white differences on IQ tests are due to the "cultural deprivation" of Blacks and to their oppressed status in society:

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[52] Harvard Educational Review, XXXIX (Winter, 1969), pp. 1-123. Hereafter referred to as "Jensen".

[53] Environmentalists, according to Jensen, hold the view that "disadvantaged" children do less well on IQ and scholastic achievement tests than their middle-class counterparts not because of innate differences in ability but because of factors in their environment which deprive them of opportunities to acquire the cultural amenities necessary for success in schools (and later in life).

> Most environmentalist theories are so inadequate that they often fail to explain even the facts they were devised to account for. In this area, psychologists, sociologists and anthropologists have not followed the usual methods of scientific investigation, which consist in part in testing rival hypotheses in such a way that empirical evidence can disconfirm either one or the other, or both. There has been only one acceptable hypothesis--the environmentalists'--and research has consisted largely of endless enumeration of subtler and subtler environmental differences among subpopulations and of showing their psychological, educational and sociological correlates, without even asking if genetic factors are in any way implicated at any point in the correlational network. Social scientists for the most part simply decree, on purely ideological grounds, that all races are identical in the genetic factors that condition various behavioral traits, including intelligence. Most environmental hypotheses proposed to account for intelligence differences among racial groups, therefore, have not had to stand up to scientific tests of the kind that other sciences have depended upon for the advancement of knowledge. Until genetic, as well as environmental, hypotheses are seriously considered in our search for causes, it is virtually certain that we will never achieve a scientifically acceptable answer to the question of racial differences in intellectual performance.[54]

Jensen was quickly joined in the battle by an array of other academicians, consisting primarily of psychologists, geneticists, a physicist, sociologists and educators, inter alia. Their ranks were composed of both American and foreign (mainly European and Canadian) scholars. Many of these men and women occupied distinguished and important seats in prestigious universities and research centers here and abroad. The culmination of these forces may very well be represented by an ad appearing in the American Psychologist. In this ad, 50 prominent scholars from a variety of disciplines presented the new "hereditarians" as a group of persecuted and beleaguered scientists whose views were being assailed on non-scientific grounds, namely political and ideological ones. Their credo reads in part as follows:

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[54] "Race and the Genetics of Intelligence: A Reply to Lewontin", Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists (May, 1970), p. 20.

> The history of civilization shows many periods when scientific research or teaching was censured, punished, or suppressed for nonscientific reasons, usually for seeming to contradict some religious or political belief. Well-known scientist victims include: Galileo, in orthodox Italy; Darwin, in Victorian England; Einstein, in Hitler's Germany; and Mendelian biologists, in Stalin's Russia.
>
> Today, a similar suppression, censure, punishment, and defamation are being applied against scientists who emphasize the role of heredity in human behavior. Published positions are often misquoted and misrepresented; emotional appeals replace scientific reasoning; arguments are directed against the man rather than against the evidence (e.g., a scientist is called "fascist", and arguments are ignored.
>
> A large number of attacks come from nonscientists, or even antiscientists, among the political militants on campus. Other attackers include academics committed to environmentalism in their explanation of almost all human differences. And a large number of scientists, who have studied the evidence and are persuaded of the great role played by heredity in human behavior, are silent, neither expressing their beliefs clearly in public, nor rallying strongly to the defense of their more outspoken colleagues.
>
> The results are seen in the present academy: it is virtually heresy to express a hereditarian view, or to recommend further study of the biological bases of behavior. A kind of orthodox environmentalism dominates the liberal academy,

> and strongly inhibits teachers, researchers, and scholars from turning to biological explanations or efforts.[55]

It is quite clear that the proponents of the strong role of heredity in human abilities and behaviors are adamant in their position against the environmentalist. It is also obvious that Jensenism draws from many related and seemingly unrelated fields--biology, genetics (animal, plant and human) sociology, statistics, educational psychology, psychological measurement theory, education, and many others.

In addition to Arthur Jensen, other leading proponents[56] of this school of thought are Hans J. Eysenck (University of London), Richard Herrnstein (Harvard), Lloyd G. Humphreys (University of Illinois), and William Shockley (Stanford). While for our purposes we will focus on Jensen and his works, mainly because he is the progenitor of this thesis and because the others espouse variations of his theme, we will review briefly the other Jensenists' works or thinking.

Eysenck basically parrots Jensen's major points lock, stock, and barrel. He has nothing new or original to add to the debate either in terms of researcher contributions or in terms of analysis and conclusions. His works Race, Intelligence and Education (Temple Smith, 1971) and "IQ, Social Class and Educational Policy" (op. cit.) reflect the positions and thinking of Jensen and Herrnstein.[57]

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[55] "Comment", American Psychologist (July, 1972), p. 660.

[56] They are considered as avid supporters and protagonists because of their writings and/or public appearances in which they defend and advance the basic notions of Jensenism.

Herrnstein is very careful to make known that his ideas dwell on the correlation and causal relation between IQ and social class and not IQ and race. His basic thesis is IQ determines social class, and that because IQ is largely hereditary social mobility is limited for most people. His view of a hereditary meritocracy says that people who occupy top professional and occupational positions and who command, correspondingly, high incomes are naturally due to have these advantages because they run in their genes, i.e. they inherited the genes for intelligence and, hence, a superior position in society. Both Herrnstein and Eysenck believe that IQ determines social class, and not social class determining IQ. (The unquestioning faith that the Jensenists have in IQ scores as a true and accurate indicator and measurement of intelligence will be discussed later.)

As we pointed out earlier, Herrnstein and Eysenck do disagree on Herrnstein's conclusion that "as technology advances, the tendency to be unemployed may run in the genes of a family about as certainly as bad teeth do now".

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[57] It should be noted that Eysenck does disagree with Herrnstein on one technical point--genetic regression, which leads him to believe that no fixed caste of dull and unemployable people is developing.

Jensen was a former student of Eysenck and both are duly impressed with the works of Sir Cyril Burt. So Jensen may be the "protege". However, Eysenck draws on Jensen's data and hypotheses in his book, and was in regular correspondence with Jensen about his current work.

Lloyd Humphreys is less convinced of the 80-20% dichotomy that Jensen poses for the relative contributions of heredity and environment to intelligence (i.e. IQ scores). He also feels that the heritability of scholastic achievement is closer to the heritability of intelligence, and Jensen has underestimated this heritability. He does agree with Jensen that compensatory education is a failure, and that Blacks are intellectually deficient.[58]

William Schockley advances arguments very similar to those of the others in this group. Starting from the jensenist thesis that the black-white difference on IQ tests are due to a defective black gene pool, his arguments call for the granting of bonuses to welfare recipients who agree to sterilization. This action would stem the growing tide and danger of dysgenics--retrogressive evolution through the disproportionate reproduction of the "genetically disadvantaged". He further maintains that raceology--the study of racial genetics--is in order. (For years, he has unsuccessfully petitioned the National Academy of Sciences to sponsor such studies.) Another pet theory of his is that for each 1% of "white blood", i.e. caucasian ancestry found in Blacks, the IQ level of these Blacks is raised by one point. He then ties raceology, dysgenticity together with this logic (and appeal):

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[58] From a presentation made by Humphreys at the "Conference on Racism in Education and Society", Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri, November 14, 1973. See also Jensen, "How Much Can We Boost IQ and Scholastic Achievement", op. cit., fn. 5, p. 58.

> The possible relationship of blood type determination of racial mixes of populations and IQ may offer a unique opportunity to evaluate the reality of the dysgenic threat.[59]

The "dysgenic threat" that he refers to in the above citation of course is "crime in the streets", "bulging welfare rolls", "high rates of black unemployment", and black dissatisfaction with their social, political, and economical lot in this country.

His works also draw heavily upon Jensen's writings which in turn rely greatly on the studies of Cyril Burt of the relative hereditarian and environmental influences on the IQ of twins raised apart, and on the correlation of adopted children's IQ with their natural and foster mothers' IQ.

The criticisms of and rebuttals to the various jensenist lines of thought and "evidence" have been, in my opinion, excellent, effective (in the sense of demonstrating the unsoundness of the hypotheses and theories), devastating, comprehensive, and not widely-publicized.*

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[59] "Dysgenics, Geneticity, Raceology", Phi Delta Kappan (January, 1972), p. 303.

*See my paper, "Jensenism in Contemporary and Historical Perspective: With Particular Emphasis on the Afro-American Experience", for a full presentation of the salient critiques of jensenism. (See bibliography for full reference.)

The criticisms have come from scholars of many different disciplinary backgrounds and political persuasions. Anthropologists, biologists, chemists, educators, philosophers, political scientists, geneticists, psychologists, sociologists, astronomers, mathematicians, and many others have challenged the Jensen hypothesis on scientific, technical, methodological, political, ethical, moral and social grounds. Regularly new pieces appear in the scholarly (and not so scholarly) literature attacking the definitions and concepts, the intent, the validity and reliability, the scholarship, etc. of the Jensen piece and of those works of his cohorts. The political spectrum is well-covered with the critics including scholars and scientists who can be labeled "militants", "radicals", "liberals", "moderates", "conservative", etc.

It is hard to conclude this discussion without being tempted to write a conclusion as long as the rest of this piece. But this temptation will be resisted and we will point out some of the implications of jensenism for contemporary and future activities and aspirations of Black America, and make our concluding remarks.

Whether or not Jensen and the other jensenists are sincere in believing that they are not racists, that their theories are not exercises in racism, and that they really have the best interests of black folks at heart, the actual and potential uses of their doctrine (dogma) clearly have racialist impact and import.

The most evident application of this doctrine is to the schools. Jensen's proposed use of IQ tests and his notion of Level I (associative learning) bode of being a double whammy to black children. First, the culturally-biased tests will identify students as "dumb", mentally retarded or suffering from an "IQ deficient", and then his associative learning theory will lead the kid to caste-like "academic" programs for "dumb" (i.e. Level I learners) under the guise of providing a differentiated learning environment. Jensen never says how his variegated learning situations will function. Will they lead to abstract reasoning? (This seems highly unlikely in Jensen's scheme of things,[60] since most Blacks are supposedly innately incapable of achieving this level.) What activities, subjects, methods, etc. will be emphasized and employed? Jensen himself gives us a clue to what his theory will lead to:

> A serious shortcoming of ordinary IQ tests is that they measure predominately Level II and fail to distinguish between primary and secondary retardation. Tests that reliably measure both Levels I and II should be developed for use in schools, in personnel selection and in the armed forces. This formulation also has important implications for the education of children now popularly called disadvantaged, most of whom have normal Level I ability but are often quite far below average in Level II. Such children might benefit educationally from instructional skills less dependent upon Level II abilities and more fully engage Level I abilities as a means of raising their educational attainments.[61]

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[60] See Jensen, Genetics and Education, pp. 204-293.

[61] Ibid., p. 293.

It is quite clear that Jensen is advocating a tracking system based on new types of tests that leads to Blacks being further discriminated against in higher education and in the job market. With the all-volunteer army now a reality, Jensen would have the predictions come true which say that all (most) of the enlisted men will be black and all (most) of the officers white. It is quite evident that Jensen's theory would cause an increased overrepresentation of Blacks in low-paying, low-prestigious occupations, or perhaps to no occupations and jobs at all. This would amount to the similar effect that the Washingtonian-industrial education philosophy led to in the 1890's and the early twentieth century. We must remember that that great friend of black people--Spiro T. Agnew--said at the height of the movement for open admissions and new admissions criteria for Blacks and others at colleges and universities that everyone was not capable of doing college level work. We should also take heed of the concerted efforts by governmental agencies and mass media to sell technical, vocational and para-professional education. Advertisements saying, "You don't have to go to college to earn a good living", are commonplace on television, radio, on billboards and elsewhere. And they are particularly aimed at the poor, the "minority", and the other subpopulations of this country that are most underrepresented in college and in the professions. Many Blacks are being shunted into dead-end (and never-ending) junior college programs for supposedly technical and para-professional training. Are these the new industrial schools, operating with the blessings of IQ tests? We think so.

Another clear educational implication to be found in Jensen's thesis is the cutback of efforts and resources to achieve "quality education", however this is operationally defined (i.e., as desegregation and busing, improvement and/or restructuring of schools with predominately/all black student bodies, introducing black curriculum, community control, etc.). As we mentioned earlier the Jensen argument has been entered as evidence in court cases and legislative deliberations dealing with the education of Blacks. We can expect to see more of this type of use.

Jensenism and Compensatory Education

It is apparent that there is no substantial difference in the jensenist and the cultural deprivation approach to the question of black cognitive development and educability. Both approaches assume that what is good and desirable for whites is also good and appropriate for Blacks and other non-whites. Both viewpoints attempt to measure Blacks against standards created for white populations, with methodological tools foreign to the experience of Blacks, and with no regard (or with complete disregard) for the unique cultural and social heritage of Afro-Americans. The minor difference that exists is this: the advocates of cultural deprivation say that black folk can turn white by taking on all the cultural trappings of whiteness and by denying and destroying their own cultural uniqueness. The jensenists say that Blacks are incapable of becoming white (i.e. equal to whites in intelligence and therefore in social and economic status) and that this incapacity constitutes a deficit and an inferiority that cannot be overcome.

Many Blacks have said that both schools of thought are unreasonable and that it is highly undesirable for Blacks to become Afro-Saxons and to be assimilated into a culture that has proven itself to be violent, decadent, immoral, exploitive (of men and of Nature), oppressive, and inhumane. It is the contention of many Blacks from all walks of life that the cultural heritage of Blacks should be shown for what it is, for the great achievements and the many contributions it has made to world civilization and human culture, along with its failings. It should be used as a starting point in teaching Blacks and non-Blacks certain values of humanity and humility; it should be the basis from which the education of black children occurs. History has shown that as long as Blacks allow others to define them, their needs, their interests, and to dictate how these will be met, Blacks will suffer accordingly and will always be second-class citizens or slaves.

Quite evidently an anti-jensenist posture is not equivalent to a pro-environmentalist stance as represented by the cult of cultural deprivation, even though these two factions are engaged in a civil war. Neither side has a healthy view of Blacks, nor offers a means of advancing black people, which can only be done when Blacks are viewed as people with legitimate needs, interests and differences. These should not be viewed as deficits, disadvantages, deprivations or otherwise. The real problems lie in the social, political, economic, moral and educational fabrics of this society, and it is to these ends that "solutions", "panaceas", and "theories" should be addressed.

Community Control and Other Accountability Strategies

Alternative proposals have been forwarded to cope with the problems and conditions that are the lot of Blacks in public education. Those that purport to deal with the issue of "accountability" are briefly described in this section. Accountability as a construct in education is concerned with associating educational results with responsibility and holding those responsible for achieving certain, specific outcomes "accountable" for their failures.

Accountability in education has two main parents for its genesis. The first is the large-scale unrest found among minority groups in the past decade and their dissatisfaction with the schools. This dissatisfaction reached the point where frustration created demands from the minority communities that the schools be controlled by and/or be made to respond to the needs of these communities. It was (is) the mood of the period to demand that teachers, administrators, and institutions be responsible for their actions, and held "accountable" for meeting their responsibilities. The other factor contributing to the birth of accountability in education is the rising costs of educational operations. People begin to ask what are they getting for their money besides teacher's strikes and student activism.

The social technologies that are examined in this section are "community control", "decentralization", "performance-contracting" and the "voucher system". (Others that have more general applicability and that did not arise directly from minority challenges to the school system are programming, planning, and budgeting system (PPBS) and competency/performance-based teacher education (C/PBTE)). While these proposals are social and political in nature, they are considered as technologies because they seek to apply specific means (techniques) to an end, and, in some cases, do employ certain technologies (such as the computer, video equipment, etc.). In addition to these "accountability technologies", other programs and proposals have been offered and tried: team teaching, compensatory education, busing, ability grouping, flexible scheduling, individualized instruction, self-contained classrooms, open classrooms, and programmed instruction, to name a few.

The community control concept in public schooling came about as the documentation of school failure for black and other minority youth increased. The major tenets of the community control philosophy state that since the traditional bureaucracy has failed to educate the children of black, Spanish, and/or poor backgrounds, and since the educational structures do not reflect and represent the interest of these peoples, then these communities should gain control of the educational institutions in their environs to which their children go. This same argument is posited for other institutions in these oppressed neighborhoods. Malcolm X may be considered the modern day father of this movement. He had advocated in the earlier sixties for black control of the black community:

> A segregated district or community is a community in which people live, but outsiders control the politics and the economy of that community. They never refer to the white section as a segregated community. It's the all-Negro (sic) section that's a segregated community. Why? The white man controls his own school, his own bank, his own economy, his own politics, his own everything, his own community--but he also controls yours. When you're under someone else's control, you're segregated. They'll always give you the lowest or the worst that there is to offer, but it doesn't mean that you're segregated just because you have your own. You've got to control your own. Just like the white man has control of his, you need to control yours.[62]

Other groups and personalities such as the Black Panthers, SNCC, CORE, Stokeley Carmichael, and others picked up the cry and advanced it across the country. In the educational arena, Albert Vann presents this rationale for community control:

> Black people must control the forces that mold the minds of their youth, they must rule the schools.:

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[62] George Breitman (ed.), Malcolm X Speaks (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1965), p. 42.

1. So that we can survive.
2. So that we can liberate others (their minds) to ensure our survival.
3. So that Black people can become psychologically, economically and politically independent.
4. So that Black children can develop self-worth and dignity through knowledge of their history and culture and through the image provided through current community leaders and teachers.
5. So that teaching personnel will be accountable to the community, and, therefore, must really teach if they want to maintain their jobs.
6. So that curricula, books, literature, and other materials will be relevant to the life experiences and needs of the Black child and provide additional motivation to learn.
7. So that contracts, jobs, and money that are controlled by those who control school systems will be kept in the Black community.
8. So that we can equip our young to adjust to changing power relationships or prepare them to fight for survival, or both.[63]

The community control concept in public schooling had its genesis in New York City in 1967 with several proposals to either empower local advisory units and/or decentralize the larger system into smaller administrative units. These schemes were all attempts to meet the increasing demands of parents for improved educational opportunities and outcomes for their children that were the trademark of this decade.

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[63] "Community Involvement in Schools", What Black Educators Are Saying, Nathan Wright, Jr. (ed.) (New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc. 1970), pp. 230-231.

As of yet, no true model of community control has been developed, implemented, and operated. The political, economic, legal, and social implications of such a development are clearly too wide-ranging and powerful; to let groups who are on the fringes of society gain control of an institution that yields such a potent power base is a threat to those who benefit from the status quo. Needless to say, teacher unions, administrative personnel associations, and central boards of education are resisting this movement and have tried to subvert it using various tactics and subterfuges.

Community control in essence says that parents, community people, some teachers and administrators, and students would usurp from local boards of education the rights, responsibilities, and privileges granted to them by the state.

Decentralization, on the other hand, holds that the larger bureaucracy (the central school administration) will delegate some of its authority, responsibilities, and functions to subdivisions located in neighborhood districts. Often it is suggested that local or neighborhood advisory boards, consisting of parents, lay persons, students, and sometimes teachers, be created to provide community input into the bureaucratic-administrative structure. Decentralization is, in essence, the rearrangement of organizational and bureaucratic structures into smaller, local units, with citizen input and participation mostly and generally confined to advisory and consultative roles.

With this arrangement the central governing body (the board of education and the chief administrative officers) still retain final authority in almost all areas of planning and decision and policy-making.

Many times these two terms (decentralization and community control) are used interchangeably, but it is clear that they are two different things. Many school districts have introduced decentralization when pressures for community control arose. In this regard then, decentralization serves as a subterfuge for avoiding turning over to or sharing power with oppressed groups in local areas. It is obvious that the two are not synonomous, even though some decentralization designs may be viewed as a step toward community involvement in the decision-making process.

Performance-contracting came into its own with the assistance of the Federal government around 1970. The basic concept is that an agreement between a school board and a private company is negotiated in which the academic "performance" of students in given subjects (usually measured by some national standardized achievement test) is to be significantly increased during a certain period of time. The amount of compensation that the company finally receives depends on how well (or how badly) it fulfilled its "contract;" that is, how well did it meet its pre-defined goals. It is paid accordingly (or is penalized if the results fall below a minimum level). Sometimes "bonuses" are provided if the company exceeds its standards. The essentials of the argument for performance-contracting are presented in this citation:

> The contracts are seen by the Nixon Administration as a way of introducing "accountability" into American education, something that the President and others believe is sadly lacking in present school bureaucracies.
>
> Their argument goes like this: Too often Americans measure their schools by what they put into them--the building, class size, teacher salaries, libraries, and number of courses. They rarely concentrate on the schools' end product--what and how much children learn.
>
> Even when it becomes clear--as in many urban schools--that children are not learning basic skills like reading and math, no teacher or administrator is ever called on the carpet and asked why, much less has his pay cut. There is little incentive to do a better job.
>
> What is needed is to determine exactly how much children have progressed in their studies during a given period and then as an incentive, to reward only those teachers or companies whose students have done well. This, of course, is the essence of performance-contracting.[64]

To date, more than 250 contracts of this kind have been awarded to a variety of "contractors" (private companies, universities, teacher unions, national professional associations, etc.).[65] While a controversy still rages over the advantages and disadvantages of this method, it still enjoys a great deal of currency in the literature as a viable alternative in the educational arena. However, the Office of Economic Opportunity and the U.S. Office of

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[64] Larry Van Dyne, "Incentive Plan for Teaching Poor", St. Louis Post-Dispatch, March 14, 1971.

[65] Allen Ornstein, "Research on Decentralization", Phi Delta Kappan, Vol. LIV, No. 9, p. 610.

Education, the main sources of funding for these projects, have stopped sponsoring performance contracts. Many professional educational organizations were strongly critical of and opposed to this approach. Utilizing a systems analysis approach, this stratagem employed machine oriented programmed materials and extrinsic reward systems. The materials are mechanically sequenced into "learning systems", coordinated and supplied by adults, usually para-professionals.

This approach was first used with black children in Texarkana and Gary, Indiana. And many of the projects involved "disadvantaged" (black, Chicano, American Indian, Puerto Rican, poor white?) youth, but not limited to them.

Performance-contracting has been employed in a wide and diverse range of school systems: "from coast to coast, in big and small towns, and in urban and rural settings."[66] Its future at this point and time is uncertain. It may lose momentum and die. But it will leave a residual effect. Many services now performed by the schools may be contracted to "outside" agencies.

The *voucher system* is another controversial approach that has recently appeared on the educational scene. Christopher Jencks of Harvard University put forth the notion of a voucher system in 1969. Early experimental projects were funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity. The voucher system is predicated on the concept of the "free enterprise" system and the idea of supply and demand. The essential workings of this proposal have been identified and described as follows:

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[66] L. H. Browder et al., *Developing An Educationally Accountable Program* (Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Co., 1973), p. 259.

> Parents would receive an "education voucher" for each of their school-age children. These vouchers could be used only as tuition payment for the children at the "public school" of their choice.
>
> To be termed a "public school" and thus eligible for voucher payment, a school would have to meet certain curriculum standards roughly the same as those private schools now need for state accreditation.
>
> No school would be eligible for a government refund of the parent's vouchers if it charged more than the face value of the voucher. However, schools which take students from low-income families would receive additional incentive payments because education of the disadvantaged is more expensive.
>
> Every school would be required to provide parents with extensive information about its programs, financing, facilities and personnel so that the parents could make well-informed choices about where to spend their vouchers.
>
> In those schools where the number of applicants is larger than the available places, at least half the places would be chosen at random and the other half would be chosen so as not to discriminate against ethnic minorities.[67]

While this movement has been on the wane in public school systems, a version of it has entered the field of higher education in the form of the Basic Educational Opportunity Grant awarded to college students and not to institutions. Thus, students armed with these grants may chose the colleges of their choice and not be dependent upon notification of financial awards from a college before being able to determine whether or not they will be attending that institution.

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[67] "Study Voucher Plan as Way to Finance, Run Schools", Chicago Sun-Times, March 22, 1971, p. 42.

The Alum Rock School district in California has been operating a modified version of the voucher system in its schools for the past two years. We say modified because outside institutions and agencies are not allowed to participate in this program. Only the public schools of this system are involved; private and religious educational institutions are also barred from participation.

From a black perspective the major flaw with these latter two approaches (performance-contracting and the voucher plan) is that again the control of the formal education of black children will be placed in the hands of "outsiders", with explicit ulterior motives--profit. The interests of the black community and those of profit-seeking organizations do not always mesh, and the history of this relationship shows that one side usually gets the short end of the stick, this side is invariably the black community.

Of course it can be argued that black groups can use these stratagems to establish and fund their own institutions, but as the rules of the game are currently drawn the risks are too great and the odds lie too heavily against Blacks for this risky chance to be taken. In addition to this problem of continued outside control of black education, many other problems abound with these proposals.

Black Studies

This is one of the most recent developments of the many recent occurrences impinging upon the schooling of black children. While the other proposals basically addressed themselves to structural changes, this approach essentially is a curricular change, although if taken to its full conclusion it would have implications for school structuring, teacher-training, personnel selection, student cognitive and affective development, and scholastic performance, and a host of other areas.

For our purposes we define Black Studies as the multi- and interdisciplinary study, investigation, and teaching of the total life, historical and cultural experiences of people of African descent over time and geography. One of the most persistent demands made by black students, parents and the lay community of the schools and colleges was for curriculum reflective of the black experience. What have been the schools' response to this demand? At best varied, and at worse, none or weak. Ronald Bailey and Janet Saxe have researched this question and observe:

> Our preliminary research into this area, and even a cursory examination by a critical observer, would indicate that it is not too early to reach some meaningful conclusions about the present situation in the teaching of the Black Experience. The fact that "almost every district has plowed its own ground" has resulted in a variety of efforts that conform to local biases, conventions, and interpretations and thus give no meaningful overview of the total Black Experience. And it is misleading to think that all school districts

> have even begun to plow. For example, several state offices of education and large urban school systems have flatly stated that they have no programs and intend none in the near future, sometimes citing the fact that their "minority" population totals do not warrant them. We at the MEER Center find the suggestion that their pupils should be allowed to absorb the stereotypes that pervade existing curriculum materials to be a strong argument for a major national effort to impart some order to the many responses generated by the new Black upsurge.[68]

More specifically they cite their detailed conclusions of a national survey which show the dismal failure of American schools to adequately and fully respond to a need for correcting the distorted, negative and harmful curriculum to which most American children of all races are exposed. Their conclusions are presented in full.

> There are several outstanding conclusions which emerged during our survey that demonstrated the vital need for such a task as the survey and evaluation of materials being used in teaching the Black Experience:
>
> - Some school districts have as yet developed no materials on the Black Experience.
>
> - Some school districts have no plans to develop materials because "the number of minority persons in their communities doesn't warrant the use of such materials." The fact that all students need such material is completely ignored.
>
> - Many of the materials sent to us. although described by the school district as "suitable", were, in fact, totally inadequate, being either blatantly racist, exclusively problem-oriented, or far too skimpy, consisting of only a two or three page outline.

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[68] Teaching Black (Stanford, Ca: Multi-Ethnic Education Resources Center, Stanford University, 1971), p. 18.

- Unlike California, most state departments of education have not developed guidelines for the inclusion of the Black Experience in the curricula of school districts in their respective states. This leaves each district to do as it wishes, resulting in diverse emphases throughout each state.

- A significant number of school districts have relied on a few of the same inadequate sources in developing what little material they have; the result is a replication of harmful distortions, omissions, etc.

- Most of the materials (including a few that have been recommended in this document for use in non-Black classrooms) did not recognize the African heritage of African-Americans, but began their histories with the slave ship.

- Except for a very few brief allusions, none of the packages included information on Blacks in the Caribbean and South America.

- There were alarmingly few packages suitable for use in the early elementary grades, which we feel to be the most crucial phase in the educational process.

- Few of the packages evaluated took into consideration the essential role of the teacher in the treatment of the Black Experience. Consequently, few specific suggestions about the training and sensitivities of teachers were found.

- The poor quality of supplementary items (i.e., books, films, etc.) reflects in large measure the inconsistencies in the attitudes of educators toward the inclusion of the Black Experience in school curricula. Only when school districts demand materials of the highest quality (and refuse to buy anything less than that) will many of the present deficiencies be rectified.[69]

It is apparent that Black Studies at the public school level has not, for the most part, established a beachhead in the primary and secondary grades. Its existence at institutions of higher education is not on a much better footing either.[70]

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[69] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

As with community control, another indigenous response to the educational mess facing Afro-Americans, Black Studies is being ignored, misunderstood and undermined. It is apparent that the white power structure do not want to listen to the voices from the ghettoes, the barrios, the reservations, the mountains and other places where exploitation and oppression abound.

Independent Black Educational Instititions

More and more Black Americans are becoming disillusioned with the promises of the American educational system. After the 1954 Supreme Court decision, Blacks, perhaps unrightfully so, perceived formal education to be a panacea for many of their problems and placed great hope and faith in the move to desegregate schools. Believing that desegregation meant equal access to educational opportunities, Blacks pressed for the speedy redress of racial imbalance in the schools. As it became evident that (1) simply placing black children beside white ones does not automatically guarantee improved learning success; (2) whites did not (do not) want black children in their schools; (3) most black students will attend all-black or mostly-black schools, if for no other reason than geographical factors; and (4) the type of education that Blacks were receiving in the public primary and secondary schools and the colleges and universities was basically a "white" education, meaning that the subject matter, the methodology, the underlying value system and the personnel reflected the ethics of white, Anglo-Saxon, protestantism and capitalism, Blacks began to raise the issue of quality black education.

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[70] See Robert C. Johnson, *Trends and Developments in Black Higher Education and Their Implications for the Black Community*, pp. 68-82.

First, they wanted their fair share of the public resources that go into education. Black-attended schools and school districts were receiving, in many areas, substantially less money per child than white schools and districts. "Quality education" is the key goal of all black parents. Some may assume that this is achieved through "integrated schools", others may feel that "community controlled" public schools are the means for achieving this end. Still others, a significant minority, strongly believe that only black established and supported educational institutions can provide the quality and proper education that Blacks need. Of course, in all of these assumptions the conceptual and operative definition of "quality education" may vary.

For those who hold the latter view, it is imperative for Afro-Americans to evolve an independent system of education encompassing all Blacks from the cradle to the grave. In this scheme of things, Independent Black Institutions of Education (IBEI) would be created. Advocates of this approach maintain that Blacks do not have to duplicate or mimic the western models of education, but can turn to their educational heritage to find significant and pertinent practices, methods and structures in traditional African education. Most of the schools, especially the primary ones, of this type employ the educational philosophies, the methods, and practices of traditional African education in the daily routines of the institution.[71] But many others, especially the institutions of higher education, have programmatic and structural regularities that resemble western practices. However, in all instances the overriding ideology is clearly black. Frank Satterwhite lays out the assumptions of this school of thought:

> (1) More than 99 percent of our children are presently educated in white-controlled institutions. Further, we can expect this situation to prevail for some time to come. It is given then that at present we do not have the human and material resources to educate our own Black children.
>
> (2) White-controlled educational institutions are destroying the minds of 99 percent of our children by building within them a spirit of European nationalism.
>
> (3) It is inherently contradictory to attempt to implement a Black Curriculum, a Pan-African Curriculum, in a white-controlled setting--the setting must be Black-controlled.
>
> (4) We are about the business of providing quality education, an African alternative for African children, youth and adults.

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[71] See Lonnetta Gains, The Learning House (Baltimore: Liberation House Press, 1971); also "The Birth of a Pan-African School System", Imani (August/September, 1973), pp. 40-43; and Afrikan Free School, Inc., Education Text: Afrikan Free School (Newark, N.J.: Jihad Publishing Co., 1974).

(5) The development of the national Pan-African School System is a long-range program, our present responsibility being to train a cadre of New African Men and Women prepared to lend their skills to the development of new social institutions.

(6) We will survive...we will conquer...we will educate our own...WITH OR WITHOUT MONEY!

(7) We cannot afford the luxury of failing to utilize the skills of all African people that can assist us in the development of our Pan-African School System.

(8) Our institutions and our communities must be *one* with maximum involvement of students, parents, teachers, administrators and community residents.

(9) *Our youth can learn and will learn if we provide them with an educational environment for learning*.

(10) If our educational programs are good, the Black community will legitimize us; if they are not, the Black community has an obligation to alter our programs or destroy them.

(11) It is probable that even with maximum planning, our institutions will develop on a "trial and error" basis, that we will learn by doing and as we do, we will minimize the errors.[72]

Supporters of this movement have no faith in the ability nor the willingness of white institutions, or white-controlled black institutions (public schools, etc.) and programs (compensatory education, Black Studies programs, etc.) to transmit the skills, knowledge, culture and values designed to regenerate the black community. They maintain that institutions which are responsible for many of the problems of Blacks, which have failed to prove themselves capable of ending their dysfunctional consequences for Blacks, cannot help Blacks.

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[72] Frank Satterwhite (ed.), *Planning An Independent Black Educational Institution* (Harlem, N.Y.: Moja Publishing House, Ltd., 1971), pp. 17-18.

Blacks, they say, should no more entrust the education of their children to these institutions than the Israelis should entrust the Arabs with educating Jewish children, or the old western settlers should have granted the task of educating their children to the American Indians with whom they were warring. The logic is appealing especially in consideration of the self-admitted failures of the American (white) educational system to provide for black students.

Endeavors are already underway to realize the ideal of IBEI. Scores of such institutions are operating across the country in black communities. These new black schools are representative of and the first effort of one way, out of several, for establishing IBEI's. This approach is to establish new institutions. The Nation of Islam (Black Muslims) is planning to build a University of Islam to complement its already existing school system and other black organizations and communities may follow the examples already set by this fast moving group.

A second approach is to convert traditional black institutions (TBI's) serving large black populations into IBEI's. The discussion on transforming TBI's into black universities would be an aspect of this category. In addition to the TBI's, there are junior colleges, recently established urban senior colleges (Federal City College in Washington, D. C.), established municipal teacher training colleges in many urban areas (D.C. Teacher's College; Chicago City College, etc.) which have student bodies that are more than 95% black. There are many others of these types that have student bodies that range between being 25-50% black.

A third approach would be to support and strengthen existing institutions under black control. This combines aspects of the first two approaches.

The movement to bring about such changes in black formal education is comprised of a relatively small number of the Blacks in education. However, a great many Blacks support either their total program or agree with aspects of it. They do want their own institutions. Furthermore, they want their history, their culture, and their values reflected in the educational content of the schools. Time magazine published in its April, 1970 issue a Louis Harris survey which showed that 85% of Blacks polled favored Black Studies Programs and considered them to be an "important sign of black identity and pride". Blacks are increasingly upset over the killings of black students that have taken place on black campuses in recent years--Orangeburg, Jackson State, Southern. Blacks are becoming more aware of the fact that "black" institutions are not really controlled by Blacks and that the massacre of black students is an indication that those who do control the schools do not really have their interest at heart. This point is made more and more in the newspapers and the discussions coming from the community and campuses.

At this time the IBEI movement is young, unnoticed, and fraught with difficulties. The newly-created IBEI's lack financial resources, facilities, trained manpower and most of all legitimacy in the black community. Because some of these schools do not offer degrees and curricula accredited and recognized by the larger society, many black students are reluctant to attend them, since their career plans call for "establishment" credentials. However, if this movement succeeds in converting and strengthening existing, traditional institutions, then the problems of legitimacy and attracting students would cease. Nonetheless, advocates of this movement will have to recognize that many black students support the notion of "blackness" and "working for the community" but still have personal objectives of "making it", which means having some marketable skills or training desired by the larger society.

A factor that may affect the success of this movement is the opinion of the white public. It needs to be pointed out that whites feel threatened by "black awakening", black consciousness, and the cries for black control of black destiny. They perceive the campuses as breeding grounds for black revolutionaries. Of course, they never fully understand what the protests are all about. It is this author's contention that a large portion of the white population doesn't really want to know why Blacks are demonstrating, and actually don't want Blacks to "advance" in any matter. This has been true historically in terms of the education of Blacks. The chapter on the history of education of Blacks in this country has shown that there has been only two periods (1780-1830 and 1867-1896) during which time Blacks had more than a semblance of control of their educational destiny. At all other times the education for Blacks have been rigidly controlled and limited by law and custom. Even during these two periods white individuals, organizations, and institutions were influential in shaping and determining the content, quality and nature of the educational experiences that Blacks were to receive.

This movement to create IBEI's should be no more threatening to the American social order than the creation of a Catholic system of education in the 1800's was a threat to the society at that time. There are also Jewish and Lutheran private school systems in this country, but nobody is killing or arresting their students and proponents, as is happening with Blacks advocating essentially the same principle.

At this early stage, it is impossible to determine the future of the IBEI movement. Whether it succeeds in fulfilling its total goal of establishing a system of black education, or whether it simply influences existing patterns of formal education for Blacks, it will have a significant and lasting impact on education in the United States.

Before concluding it should be noted that a large number of "street academies" or "ghetto prep" schools have been established in many urban areas. More often than not these schools, which attempt to reclaim push-outs and drop-outs, are funded by "establishment"--sources (i.e. state, local, and federal governments, business and industry, foundations, churches, etc.). While their genesis is to be found in the urban riots and while they catered initially to mostly black youth, they can not in the strictest sense be called IBEI's. They are the modern forerunners of the "alternative school" movement which has enjoyed much popularity in the white suburban schools. Out of the street academies and the cry for community control came the IBEI movement.

Some of the street academies began as community tutoring centers for in- and out-of-school youth sponsored by anti-poverty programs. In this way then, street academies may be associated with the War on Poverty and perhaps indirectly with the compensatory education programs for the "disadvantaged".

Recent literature is not available to tell how this development is faring. However, like most programs on "soft" money (i.e. dependent on outside, short-term, irregular funding) these "academies" are probably losing out as new educational fads occur.

Conclusions

There is no need to say much more about the current status of Blacks in regard to the American system of public education. Not surprising, in light of the history of this country and its educational treatment of Afro-Americans, the plight of mis-education continues. Even programs, public policies, actions, and approaches designed to help Blacks improve academically have harmful and negative assumptions and consequences built into them. The inherent racist nature of American society manages to taint even its most "liberal" and "progressive" proposals. The developments and efforts put forth by Blacks (community control, Black Studies, and independent black educational institutions) encounter non-acceptance, hostility, rejection, subterfuge, tokenism and many other ploys and thwarts which impede their meaningful implementation. White control and influence of black education persists.

As in the past the ugly head of reactionary racism rears itself when Blacks attempt to advance socially, culturally, politically, economically, intellectually, totally. This time around this ugliness, as dangerous and cancerous as ever, goes by the name of jensenism and it makes racist use of scientific tools. Its advocates purport to be doing Blacks a favor by exposing them to sterilization and other dysgenic and genocidal measures, by limiting their opportunities, and by labeling them genetically inferior; they try to run down the same old line that their precursors used over a century ago when they claimed that slavery was a blessing for the African!

The horizon for black formal education is beclouded with the events and issues discussed in this chapter: integration, assimilation, desegregation, separation, quality education, equality of educational opportunity, compensatory education, community control, decentralization, jensenism, Black Studies, IBEI, accountability, _ad infinitum_. How and when the clouds will break no one knows. It is obvious that now in 1974, while there is seemingly a lull in public demonstrations and protest activities to achieve educational justice and equity for Black Americans, there are strong undercurrents at play that will shape the future of the formal educational experience of black youth and will have a direct impact on the overall destiny of Afro-Americans in the United States.

That the formal educational future of Blacks is intricately bound up with the development and trends of American schooling in general and that Afro-Americans have been a dominant force in shaping the direction and nature of the American educational scene are two ideas that barely receive appropriate attention in the literature on education. For this reason we discuss educational innovation and social change in the next chapter.

Chapter 5

INNOVATION IN FORMAL SCHOOLING
AND
SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE UNITED STATES

Introduction

It should be abundantly clear from the two preceding chapters that changes are occurring in the formal public education of black youth. Some of these changes are positive, others are negative. What also should have emerged from the foregone discussions is the imperativeness of further beneficial changes to come about in this aspect of black socialization. Formal schooling for black children and adolescents must be closer to, intertwined with and based on their home, community, heritage and future needs.

The formal education of Blacks takes place in the larger arena of American schooling. To discuss change in black schooling, the nature of change and innovation in the larger society and in the overall system of schooling needs to be examined. This is the purpose of this chapter.

Structure, Size and Control of the American School System

Formal schooling in American society has grown to become one of the largest institutions and areas of human endeavor in this country. With over one-third of the populace engaged in some aspect of the formal system of schooling, an enormous amount of resources are allocated to this sector of society. Expenditures in this segment of American life increased from 32.4 billions of dollars in the 1962-63 school year to 89.2 billions of dollars for the 1972-73 academic year.[72] (These figures are in current dollars.) It is estimated that for the 1982-83 school year 114.5 billions of dollars[73] (1972-73 dollars) will be expended on this social activity. The Federal government's expenditures on education and manpower development have increased from 1.5 billions of dollars in 1963 to an estimated 11.3 billions in 1973.[74] And we can expect an increase in Federal spending in this area in the future.

In 1962 there were about 49,253,000 people enrolled as students in American institutions of learning. In 1972 the number increased to almost 60 million, and for 1982, with a declining birth rate, it is projected that 55.5 million persons will be attending schools in this country.[75] The number of persons engaged in instructional, administrative, maintenance and other supportive services add to the student numbers to make the American school system the single largest institutional impinger on human activities and resources in the United States. The elementary and secondary public schools are the biggest devourers of human participation, and form the base of this system. Figure 2 portrays the structure and the levels of the formal system of schooling in the United States.

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[72] Martin M. Frankel and J. Fred Beamer, _Projections of Educational Statistics to 1982-83: 1973 Edition_, _U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare_, DHEW Publication No. (OE) 74-11105, pp. 92-93.

[73] _Ibid._, p. 91.

[74] _The U.S. Budget in Brief_, Executive Office of the President, _Office of Management and_ Budget (Washington, D.C.: Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973) p. 79.

[75] Frankel and Beamer, _op_. _cit_., p. 19.

The responsibility for the education (schooling) of American citizens rest with the states, as the Federal constitution has no educational provisions in it authorizing the Federal government to assume this role. The states usually have departments of education, or state offices of superintendents of schools which have been authorized by state legislatures in accord with state constitutions. This responsibility for citizenry enlightenment is further delegated to local boards of education who operate school districts in accordance with state laws and regulations, and more recently, with some federal laws.

Outside of this formal structure of schooling there are a number of non-formal educational activities sponsored by industry, the Armed Forces, business, and private and public agencies. These activities consist of personnel training and development programs, services to clients, short courses for public consumption, seminars, workshops, conferences, etc. Additional resources are expended for these activities and the recipients of these services swell the numbers of persons engaged in educational activities.

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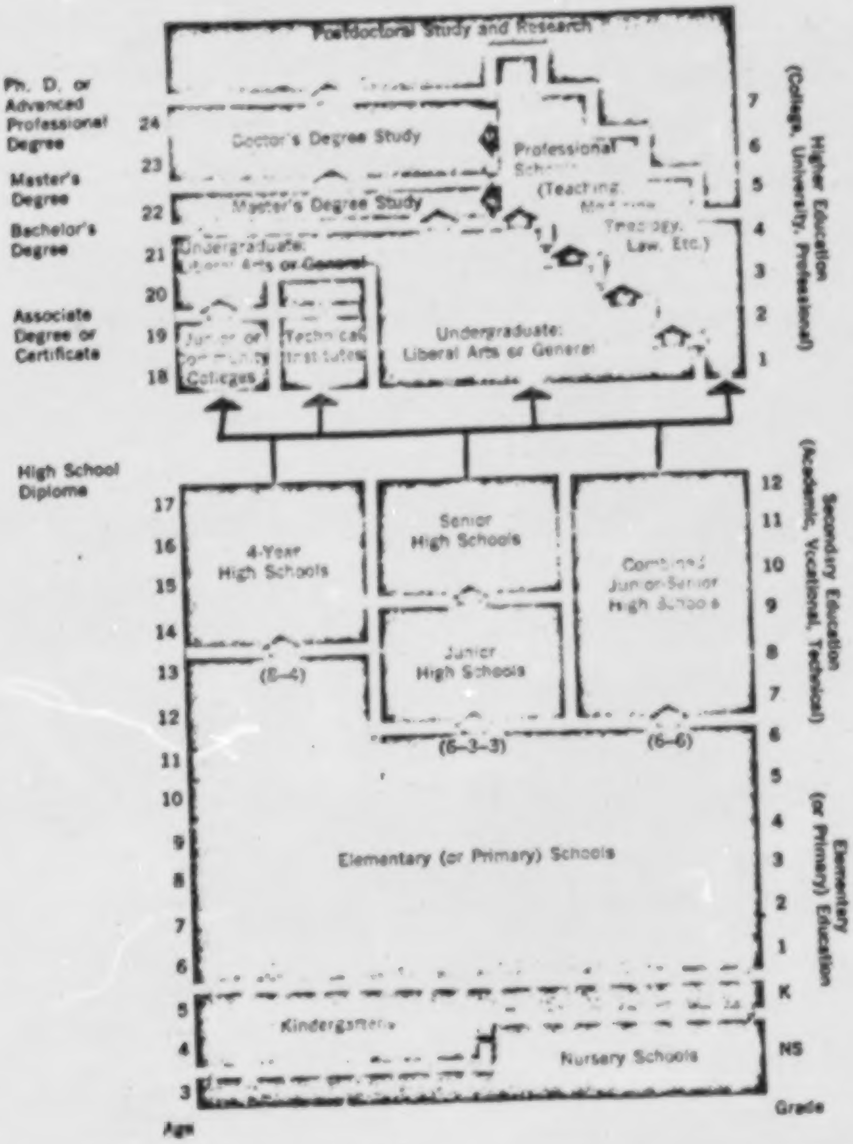
Figure 2

The Structure of Education in the United States


Postdoctoral Study and Research
Ph. D. or Advanced Professional Degree
Master's Degree
Bachelor's Degree
Associate Degree or Certificate
High School Diploma
Doctor's Degree Study
Master's Degree Study
Professional Schools (Teaching, Medicine, Theology, Law, Etc.)
Undergraduate: Liberal Arts or General
Junior or Community Colleges
Technical Institutes
Undergraduate: Liberal Arts or General
Higher Education (College, University, Professional)
4-Year High Schools
Senior High Schools
Junior High Schools
Combined Junior-Senior High Schools
(8–4)
(6–3–3)
(6–6)
Secondary Education (Academic, Vocational, Technical)
Elementary (or Primary) Schools
Elementary (or Primary) Education
Kindergarten
Nursery Schools
K
NS
Age
Grade
24
23
22
21
20
19
18
17
16
15
14
13
12
11
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
12
11
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1

Source: Digest of Educational Statistics, DHEW, 1973, p. 4.

Recent Calls for Changes in American Schooling

In addition to increasing numbers of persons actively engaged in education, and the attendant increase in financial outlays for educational purposes, the educational subsector of this country has seen a rise in the number of demands and expectations placed upon it by an ever scrutinizing, and highly diversified public. Today, probably more so than at any other time in the past, the American educational system finds itself being criticized, denounced, disected, and closely watched by many and varied sectors of the population--parents, students, teachers, "educational experts", taxpayers, governmental agencies, the courts, industry, etc. Such terms as "relevancy", "quality education", "innovation", and a host of others have been used, over-used, and abused to the point of becoming meaningless cliches in the hands of some.

However, behind the charges, the close scrutiny, and the cliches there are some very substantial and justifiable reasons for this concerned attention to be focused upon the educational system in the United States. Many observers point to the high drop-out rates, the large numbers of "functional illiterates" who are "graduated" yearly, the seemingly endless revolts of students and taxpayers (not necessarily for the same purposes), the increased frequency and gravity of teacher strikes, the school boycotts, etc. as manifestations of the dismal failures of the "system". Even when put in terms of Blacks and whites it is claimed that Blacks do not have a monopoly of legitimate complaints and disagreements with the system. The March 21, 1970 issue of Saturday Review, in two featured articles by Peter Schrag and Wallace Roberts, under the heading, "You don't have to leave school to drop out", made the case that whites--both middle-class and lower-class--have their problems with the school system as much as any minority group in this country.

Given that the American educational system is an "imperfect panacea" for many, if not all groups in America, there are additional considerations to be made when dealing with minority groups (ethnic and racial minorities) and the American educational system. The black community has repeatedly leveled serious indictments at the schools in their neighborhoods: poor and inadequate facilities, materials and supplies, insensitive and racist teaching and administrative personnel staffing the schools, curriculum unreflecting of the cultural and life styles of Blacks, and the deliberate perpetuation of intellectual and spiritual genocide of young black souls being among the most common and most serious charges.

Puerto Rican, Chicano, and Original American organizations have charged the American educational system with the same or similar crimes. Large scale student unrest among white students forced educational practitioners and observers to reconsider the social practice, called "education", not as a "minority problem", but as a concern of national and international scope. Other forces contributing to the movement to reassess "education" in this country are technological advances in areas other than education; increased teacher militancy; the "taxpayers' revolt"; and greater governmental intervention in educational matters.

Nature and Likeliness of Educational Change in the United States

Is change a familiar and likely phenomenon with the system of schooling in this country? If so, what is the nature of change in the schooling context and how does it come about? Does the "system" respond to outside pressures for change or is change an internal process?

The calls for change have been many. As Table II indicates many attempts have been made to introduce adoptions, innovations, new and/or different practices, approaches, curricula, etc. into the schools. Some have been successful, some not so successful, and some outright failures. More recently, in addition to the changes listed in Table II, cries have been made to make the following changes in the schools and their activities:

- Mini-courses
- Schools opened year-round
- End compulsory attendance
- New financing techniques and sources
- Black, Chicano, Indian, ethnic studies
- Competency/Performance-Based Teacher Education
- Alternative Schools
- Voucher system
- Performance-contracting
- Elimination of Tenure
- Transcendental meditation

TABLE II

Changes Listed According to Date of Origin, Source Rating of Success and Focus of Change

Change	Post-1950	Source	Rating	Focus
Ability Grouping		I	3	A
Activity Curriculum		I	2	B
Adult Education		EX	4	C
British Infant School	X	I	3	B
Carnegie Unit		I	4	C
Community School		I	2	B
Compensatory Education	X	EX	3	B
Compulsory Attendance		EX	4	C
Conservation Education		EX	3	B
Consolidation of Schools		I	4	C
Core Curriculum		I	1	B
Creative Education	X	I	1	B
Dalton Plan		I	1	A
Desegregation	X	EX	3	C
Driver Education		EX	4	B
Elective System		I	4	B
Environmental Education	X	EX	3	B
Equalization Procedures		I	4	C
Extra-class Activities		I	4	B
Flexible Scheduling	X	I	2	C
Guidance		I	4	A
Head Start	X	EX	3	C
Home Economics		EX	3	B
Individually Prescribed Instruction	X	I	3	A
International Education		I	3	B

Legend: Post-1950=Changes initiated after 1950; Source,I=Internal (to school setting), EX=External; Rating, 4=A change that has successfully been installed and has permeated the educational system, 3=A change that has successfully been installed and is sufficiently present that instances of the change are obvious, 2=A change that has not been accepted as a frequent characteristic of schools but has left a residue that influences educational practice, 1=A change that has not been implemented in the schools and would be difficult to locate in any school system. Changes that were rated 3 and 4 were regarded as successes and changes rated 1 and 2 were regarded as failures; Focus, A-instruction, B=curriculum, C=organization and administration.

SOURCE: Orlosky and Smith, Phi Delta Kappan (March 1972),pp. 412-413.

TABLE II (cont.)

Changes Listed According to Date of Origin, Source Rating of Success and Focus of Change

Change	Post-1950	Source	Rating	Focus
Junior College		I	4	C
Junior High School		I	4	C
Kindergarten		I	4	C
Linguistics	X	I	3	A
Look-and-Say Method		I	3	A
Media and Technology		I	4	A
Microteaching	X	I	3	A
Middle School	X	I	3	C
Mid-Year Promotion		I	1	C
New Leadership Roles		I	4	C
Nongraded Schools	X	I	3	C
Nursery Schools		EX	3	C
Open Classroom	X	I	3	A
Phonics Method		I	3	A
Physical Education		EX	4	B
Platoon System		I	1	C
Programmed Instruction		I	3	A
Project Method		I	2	A
Safety Education		I	4	B
School Psychologist	X	I	3	C
Self-contained Classroom		I	3	C
Sensitivity Training	X	I	2	A
Sex Education	X	EX	2	B
Silent Reading		I	4	A
Social Promotion		I	4	C
Special Education	X	I	4	B
Store Front Schools	X	EX	3	C
Student Teaching		I	4	A
Team Teaching	X	I	2	C
Testing Movement		I	4	C
Tests & Measurements		I	4	A
Thirty-School Experiment		I	1	B
Unit Method		I	2	B
Unit Plan		I	2	A
Updating Curriculum Content		I	3	B
Visting Teacher		I	2	A
Vocational & Technical Education		EX	4	B
Winnetka Plan		I	1	A

- Using Behavior modification
- Science education
- Early Childhood Education
- Utilization of Paraprofessionals
- Drug Abuse Education
- Accountability
- Feminist Studies
- Ecological and Environmental Education
- Consumer Education
- Bill of student rights
- Bilingual Education
- Right-to-Read programs
- Death Education
- Futures Education

And the list goes on. It seems as though every group with a cause wants to institutionalize it and propagate it through the schools.

Historical and empirical evidence does indicate that schools do respond to change and that, contrary to some critics, they are not impregnable. Of course, some critics, of schooling, who call for the "deschooling" of society, feel that this resiliency is too little too late, and that it does not change the basic function of schooling in society, which they perceive to be dysfunctional (to members of society and, hence, to society).[76]

Table II presents the results of a study by Orlosky and Smith[77] on the origins and characteristics of educational change tried during the 75 years prior to the study. The results of their study are interesting and useful. Of the 63 innovational efforts, forty-nine, or 78%, of them originated within the school setting and fourteen, or 22%, were initiated outside of it. They note that external ideas were more successful (93%) than internal ones (64%), and that they occurred in the areas of curriculum (eight instances) or organization and administration (six instances).

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[76] See for example, Ivan Illich, *Deschooling Society* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), and *Celebration of Awareness: A Call for Institutional Revolution* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor, 1971).

[77] Donald E. Orlosky and B. Othanel Smith, "Educational Change: Its Origins and Characteristics", *Phi Delta Kappan*, vol. LIII, no. 7 (March 1972), pp. 412-414.

Based on the following observations they feel that "it appears that the public school is more responsive to change than is generally conceded":

- Changes were successfully implanted in instruction, curriculum, and organization and administration (although there were also failures in these areas as well).
- In instruction, the successful changes all came from within the education field.
- Two-thirds of the changes in organization and administration were initiated within the field.
- And, in curriculum half of the changes originated within the field.[78]

They offer over a dozen conclusions on how planned change should or could be approached. The reader interested in formal educational change should consult this work.

Another important work which sheds invaluable light on the theoretical and practical problems of change is that of Seymour B. Sarason[79], who hypothesizes that:

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[78] Ibid., p. 413.

> Any attempt to introduce change into the school setting requires, among other things, changing the existing regularities in some way. The intended outcomes involve changing an existing regularity, eliminating one or more of them, or producing new ones.[80]

For him there are two types of regularities, *behavioral* and *programmatic*, and each, explicitly and implicitly, have intended outcomes. This hypothesis may very well account for the observation of Orlosky and Smith that all of the successful instructional changes came from *within* the field of education. They note that:

> ...Changes in ways of teaching and organizing instruction are neither the result of legislation nor of social pressure, but rather are the outcome of professional wisdom and research. This is attributable partly to the fact that the teacher's behavior in the classroom is shaped by factors considerably removed from social concerns, partly to the stability of teaching patterns, and partly to the intellectual character of teaching about which the public has little information.[82]

Norman E. Hearn also provides an useful analysis on how to achieve change in the public schools.[83] He points out that change is most likely to occur in 1) "liberal community", that is, one favorable to governmental intervention for social progress, 2) in communities where the income and schooling levels are high, and 3) where there is homogeneity of ethnic, religious and economic backgrounds of schools and communities, 4) where the staff is well-traveled, "cosmopolitan", and 5) where it is young. He notes the opportune times for innovation: during fiscal adjustments, personnel changes, media crusades, and crises. He also discusses the "how" of innovation.

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[79] *The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1971).

[80] *Ibid.*, p. 63.

[81] Orlosky and Smith, p. 414.

[82] "The Where, When and How of Trying Innovations", *Phi Delta Kappan*, vol. LIII, no. 6 (February 1972), pp. 358-61, 374.

The forces for change are many. Many factors and agencies affect the effort to innovate, or are responsible for innovations; some of them are:

- educational research
- colleges of education
- accreditation committees
- local boards of education
- commercial companies--textbooks and tests
- U.S. Office of Education
- educational foundations
- court decisions that rule on educational practices
- pressure groups in society
- state education agencies--teacher certification agencies
- professional and extra-legal organizations.

This discussion allows us to see, in an admittedly summary fashion, the nature and likeliness of change in public schooling in the United States. It is possible and there are some characteristics, strategies, and variables that can be noted and perhaps manipulated to achieve certain types of success. Change from outside the system is also possible, as recent events have shown. Historically, a number of events have affected the schools in subtle and not so subtle ways. We have seen how Reconstruction, a political, economic and military phenomenon, impacted (initiated) southern school systems. The "Sputnik era" has more recently changed the face of some aspects of American schooling. Wirth[83] has described the impact of industrialization (19th-20th centuries) on educational philosophy, and Callahan[84] has shown how this same movement have shaped the operations and administration of the schools. One could point to legislative acts such as Land Grant College Act (1862), child labor laws, and a host of others, and their impacts on the schooling movement in this country. Massive immigration, the rise of meritocracy, and increased teacher militancy all in their own ways have affected the institution of public education. And as usual the list could go on.

Industrialization and agricultural growth brought not only philosophical issues and business practices to the schools but also technology. The aforementioned Land Grant College Act was designed to promote technical education and scientific agriculture. Industrialists tried to use the schools as a means of supplying themselves with a work force trained in industrial and mechanical skills, and of combatting growing unionization and radicalization of among workers, many of whom were recent immigrants.

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[83] Arthur G. Wirth, Education in the Technological Society (Scranton: Intext Educational Publishers, 1972).

[84] Raymond E. Callahan, Education and the Cult of Efficiency (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962).

Is Change Change?

No attempt has been made to formally define the concept of change in this chapter. Many views are held of this process and terms such as innovation, invention, adoptation, modification, reform, evolution, and revolution are used to refer to it.

Many times "changes" are adopted by a system or institution in order to avoid undergoing substantial transformation. This is very true with the schools. Black Studies, decentralization and other pacifying and non-threatening programs can be absorbed and implemented by the schools, but, yet and still, the black experience will not be taught[85] nor will the powerless and oppressed be empowered to make meaningful decisions about their children's education and future.

The some holds true with introducing technology into the school setting. If the technological media are to deliver the same stifling message as do humans, is this change?

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[85] See for example, Leon E. Clark, "Africa in the Classroom: Learning Experience or Just Another Yawn?", Africa Report, vol. 18, no. 3 (May-June 1973), pp. 47-50.

Chapter 6

TECHNOLOGY, BLACK AMERICANS AND THE AMERICAN PUBLIC

Just as there are forces affecting the direction of schools, similiar or other factors are responsible for creating changes in the larger society. One of these is technology, and communications technology in particular. The latter is a particularly strong socializing agent, especially for black children and youth. To these matters we now turn.

The point that today's and tomorrow's world is becoming increasingly technological in nature has been noted so many times that it seems trite to reiterate this almost established truism. The problems and potentials of this increased technological state of affairs have also been well-stated many times over, during the past hundred years or so, by commentators and observers of this phenomenon. Every so often, a perceived conflict between man and machine is thought by one group or another as being detrimental to it's interests and well-being. Labor unions, teachers' organizations, and most recently, Black Americans, have assailed proposed and/or developing technological innovations as being threatening to their very survival.

Technology and Science, Genocide, and the Black Community

A cry of genocide has widespread currency in the black community of this country today. Black politicans, scientists, scholars, labor unionists, professionals and activists, along with black workers and impoverished, unemployed or handicapped Blacks are all seeing dangerous signs in recent and past research projects; urban and rural renewal programs; population control proposals; medical research; social and natural scientific theories about race, heredity, intelligence, and educability; the use of electronic devices for surveillance of Black Liberation and civil rights activities, and a host of other developments and trends. While some of the charges of black genocide through the utilization of cultural and technological mechanisms seem to border on the absurd and are of an hysterical and paranoid nature, many of the allegations have substantial evidence and historical precedents to substantiate them and make them quite plausible. Whether these threats are real or only perceived, the fact remains that a significant and influential part of the national black community is talking about genocide and the survival of the Black race in America and the world. To many who advocate the ideas of genocide and survival, modern science and technology are suspect and are considered as a partner in the conspiracy to do away with Blacks. This notion is held seriously by Blacks of different political ideological persuasions. Organizations of diverse philosophies have conducted research and have made inquiries into the role of technology in the black community.

The National Urban League has conducted research on the implications of cable television for urban communities in a number of cities across the nation. The Black Panther Party has been interested in cable television developments and has attempted to get into the action.[87] The Joint Center for Political Studies, Washington, D.C., has shown an interest in cable television, as has Cablecommunications Resource Center, also a Washington, D.C. based organization. This widespread interest in and concern with cable television is due, in part, to its image as being a tool of "big brother" because of its two-way, interactive capacities and capabilities. *Jet* Magazine has recently added a new feature section to its publication entitled "Genocide." Samuel Yette, a noted journalist, author and government official says:

> A people whom the society had always denied social value--personality--had also lost economic value. Theirs was the problem of all black America: survival.
>
> Examination of the problem must begin with a single, overpowering socioeconomic condition in the society: black Americans are obsolete people.
>
> Thanks to old black backs and newfangled machines, the sweat chores of the nation are done. Now the some 25 million Blacks face a society that is brutally pragmatic, technologically accomplished, deeply racist, increasingly overcrowded, and surly. In such a society, the absence of social and economic value is a crucial factor in anyone's fight for a future.[88]

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[87] The Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, December 7, 1972, p. 2.

[88] Samuel F. Yette, *The Choice: The Issue of Black Survival in America* (New York: Berkeley Medallion Books, 1972, pp. 14-15.

A white sociologist echoes these sentiments:

> After much postponement due to economic dependence on black labor during the last 350 years, the Negro question finally transforms into the Indian question. What is the point, demands White America, in tolerating an unwanted racial minority when there is no economic necessity for acceptance? With machines now replacing human labor, who needs the Negro?[89]

Many black organizations are showing alarm over scientific research in genetics. Genetic transplants, therapy, and engineering are suspect activities to many Blacks who recall the so-called "dysgenic threat" warnings of Jensenism. Muhammad Speaks, the official organ of the Nation of Islam (Black Muslims), discloses a report on United States military genetic research that "could develop a weapon capable of wiping out Black people while excluding other ethnic groups..."[90] Other Blacks, usually Pan-Africanists, have noted the use of science and technology by western powers as a means of exploiting and maintaining economic dependency of African and Third World societies. We can note their use at home, in and on the black community.

We find widespread electronic surveillance of black leaders, organizations and even whole communities. Cameras and other types of electronic monitors are placed in inconspicuous, but strategic places in the black community -

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[89] Sidney M. Wilhelm, Who Needs The Negro? (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1971), p. 334.

[90] Alonzo 4X and Norman Freelain "Scientific Nightmare of "Ethnic Weapons'", Muhammad Speaks, July 26, 1974, p. 5.

on light posts, atop buildings, in vacant buildings, etc. Data banks are established. New weaponry technology for use in urban areas is designed and refined. New means for controlling and modifying behavior is the order of the day.

This new psychotechnology consists of various forms of psychosurgery (amygdalotomy, lobotomy), aversion therapy (use of drugs and electroshock treatment) and stereotaxic brainsurgery (using electrodes for several types of work on the brain). It joins with other scientific and technological approaches to deal with social problems: sterilization, birthcontrol experiments, and other types of human experimentation. The victims or "subjects" are usually the poor, the oppressed, and the powerless. Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, inmates of penal and mental institutions, retarded children among others, serve as a captive audience for medical, social and natural scientists and researchers.

Blacks have always been the favorite sources of supply for medical and scientific research. Transplants of organs and parts from dead or dying black bodies provide life for white recipients. The cancerous cells of a black woman, Helen Lane, who died in 1951, still provides the foundation for the worldwide research effort for the cure of cancer. The Tuskegee study is too well known to need discussion here. The history of human experimentation is replete with cases of powerless Blacks serving as "subjects". Blacks today are disproportionally occupying prison space, and it is in the prisons where some of the greatest abuses of human and legal rights occur. In the move towards social control the emphasis is on "victim analysis". This "blame the victim" approach started with the modern Kerner Commission's Report on Civil Disorders. While it diagnosed white racism as the problem and the cause of the urban rebellions, it prescribed treatment not for whites but for Blacks. It is quite clear that it is the diehard racists and exploiters who need social control, behavior and mental modification, incarceration in penal and mental institutions, and sterilization so that they do not pollute the gene pools of decent people. Instead these techniques are used against the very ones who need them the least, and who need and would like other forms of assistance that technology and science could provide.

The use of scientific reasoning and technology as tools of oppression, repression and exploitation may seem far out to some, especially those who have been led to believe that science and technology have brought humanity nothing but good. If these persons stop to think about how man's use of some technologies and their side-effects have caused ecological and environmental disasters and incalculable damage to workers, peasants, city dwellers, animal life, etc., they may better understand that science and technology are two-edge swords that can, depending upon whose hands they are in, help or hurt. For those who find it implausible to think that pseudo-scientific reasoning can be used to support racist and exploitive practices and policies, we ask them to look at a few periods in American History, where "scientific" thinking supported pervailing social actions and conditions of the day.

One needs not to look only to history to see how politics and social ideology dominates the uses of science and technology. A recent issue of Science News reports "the political barbarism of Watergate has finally spread its taint to the scientific community."[91] It reveals the nature of "a White House plan to use grants, contracts and appointments in Federal Science agencies to gain political advantage."[92] This conspiracy and the mark of Nixon's pro-law and order and anti-Black, -poor, -oppressed administration can be seen in research projects such as the proposed Center for the Study and Reduction of Violence, at the University of California, Los Angeles. It has been described thusly:

> ...The Center's proponents seek to present violence as a disease of individuals, not as a response to oppressive conditions. This viewpoint equates strikes, "riots", and social protest with individual physical defects. The Center seeks to lend a scientific veneer to California law enforcement programs for identifying "potential delinquents". It also aims to develop predictive scales of social and psychological correlates of violence to be used in decisions involving "bail, sentencing, probation, placement with a correctional institution, or readiness for parole". Far from being scientific research into violence, semi-secret Center reports have already indicated

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[91] "Watergate Spillover in Science Agencies", Science News, Vol. 106, No. 2, July 13, 1974, p. 23.

[92] Loc. cit.

> its basic racist orientation. According to these reports, the main correlates of violence in our society are "are: youth; sex: male; ethnicity: Black and urban." While it is clear from Center proposals that the main victims of its research will be minority people, whites will clearly be affected as well. One of the Center's projects will be an experiment using the drug Ritalin on school children with the alleged disease of "hyperkinesis", from which five percent of our school children are claimed to suffer. Another proposal is to see if violent acts by women correlate with the occurrence of their menstrual cycles.
>
> The Center is also to be tied in with, and to provide justification for, medical experimentation on prisoners without informed consent. This occurs daily Vacaville Medical Facility (See Jessica Mitford "Experiments Behind Bars", in The Atlantic, Jan., 1974). The Center's proposals include further development of such atrocities as the use of cyproterone acetate ("chemical castration") on sex offenders, and psychosurgery (operations on the brain to control behavior, not to cure any organic disease).[93]

Of course much more could be said about the negative uses of science and technology and their utilization as tools of repression.[94]

Technology, however, is in and of itself neutral. It is its application that poses problems or offers potential for mankind (or groups of people). And so it is with technology and Blacks. Given the gamut of social ills plaguing Black Americans (and other minorities and the poor and aged), many new and different approaches must be identified, developed and used in seeking to redress the conditions that most Black Americans find themselves in. Technology can and has played a positive function, to some extent, in the developmental process of the black community. This limited role that it has played needs to be expanded. This means that Blacks themselves will have to become more trusting of technology. But, this trust will have to be predicated upon two things: (1) their knowledge of technology and (2) their control of it in their communities and in their lives. Blacks must realize (and most probably do) that technology is here to stay, and that it permeates every aspect of life in this country.

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[93] "A Statement Against Racism", Osagyefo, June, 1974, p. 23.

[94] For a more extended discussion of this, see Robert C. Johnson, Jensenism in Contemporary and Historical Perspective with Particular Emphasis on the Afro-American Experience (St. Louis: Washington University, 1974), mimeographed; this work contains references, and contemporary and historical analysis of this phenomenon, using Jensenism as a focus.

Communications Media and Blacks

Since many of the so-called "educational technologies" are really technologies developed for and by the communications industry, and since, for the purpose of this paper, education is not limited to or defined exclusively as schooling, it is appropriate and proper to examine the general relationship that exists between the black populace and the media of this country. An analysis of this relationship, hopefully, sheds light upon the reasons why Blacks are distrustful of certain technological developments and uses of communications technologies. An examination of this sort also may give indications of the directions Blacks need to take to overcome disadvantages suffered at the hands of the America media and to maximize the potentials that the media can afford Blacks, both as a set of tools for general communication purposes and for teaching and learning possibilities. There is a great deal of overlap between education and communications, which goes beyond just sharing the same technologies. Education is basically the art of communicating. In the interaction between learner and teacher, and learner and his environment, an exchange and/or transfer of information, values, knowledge, wisdom (if one is lucky), attitudes, ideas, and opinions takes place. Communications in its own way serves as a socializing agent. Although it functions in a less formal and less structured role than education (i.e. schooling), it too is a medium for transmitting information, attitudes, values, opinions, and ideas. (Given the current state of the arts, wisdom is deliberately excluded from the list.) Furthermore, the fact that the communications industry is rapidly moving into the educational arena also tends to blur the lines of distinctions between the two fields. Also, many "educational" programs and services are carried over the media of the commercial communications firms. Many educational agencies own and/or operate their own communications facilities (television and radio stations, computer centers, audio visual centers, etc.). Others contract with local media enterprises.

The present and historical relationship of Blacks to the media is two-fold: exclusion and distortion. Taking the second aspect of this relationship first it is easily documented that the diversity, the depth and the scope of activities and attitudes that make up the black community in this country are not adequately portrayed to the world and to Blacks themselves. Mayor Richard G. Hatcher of Gary, Indiana cites several works in a speech given at Savannah State College which demonstrate the point that communications media have created and transmitted a distorted image of Blacks. His citations are repeated here:

> In his recent book, The Black Press, U.S.A., professor (sic) Robert W. Wolseley writes: "...the white press and news services earned the suspicion of black citizens in the first half of this century because they could not be trusted to tell the truth about Blacks. These white agencies were accused of favoring whites against blacks, i.e. tailoring the news to fit the publications' prejudices, or at least those of their owners. Both northern and southern papers followed the practice of race identification of blacks only, and of ignoring entirely anything but unfavorable black news.[95]

Hatcher quotes a passage from a position paper by the Black Congressional Caucus on the "mass communications media" which makes essentially the same point:

> The mass media have failed miserably in reporting accurately and honestly the day by day news emanating from the black community. The media have failed miserably to adequately and accurately portray black people and black perspectives. The media and its allies also

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[95] Richard G. Hatcher, "Mass Media and the Black Community", Black Scholar, September, 1973, Vol. 5, No. 1, p. 3.

> have failed to allow equal access to information necessary for full participation in a democratic society.[96]

William Sales in an earlier article identified the distorting function of the media and its effect and purpose:

> For a long time Black scholars have identified and analyzed the traditional function of the mass media as a bearer of Anglo-Saxon cultural superiority. As a cultural bearer, the mass media was consolidating conquests already made by racists. It continually defended white hegemony in America by treating the Black community as if it were not newsworthy. When this was not possible, it simply manifested traditional racist American attitudes towards Blacks. Blacks and other colored peoples were stereotyped either as childlike or bestial. Ramar of the Jungle, Our Gang, Amos and Andy, Tarzan and the like were all that Black people traditionally saw ot themselves in the mass media, save for the common news media practice of identifying the race of all criminals reported except those who were white. This cultural offensive is still pretty much in the purview of the mass media.[97]

Sales notion of a media induced white superiority-black inferiority syndrome is supported by the Black Congressional Caucus' position paper; Hatcher cites this passage from it:

> ...the communications media have failed to communicate. They have not communicated to the majority of their audience, which is white, a sense of the degradation, misery and hopelessness of living in the ghetto. They have not communicated to whites a feeling for the difficulties and frustrations of being black in a racist society.

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[96] Ibid., p. 4.

[97] William Sales, "The News Media: Racism's Front Line of Defense", Black World, March, 1971, Vol. XX, No. 5, p. 42-43.

> The same distortions in perception that make whites unconsciously feel "normal" and superior in relation to non-white persons have exactly the opposite effects upon the latter. Geographic exclusion of non-whites, plus the perceptual distortions of news reporting and programming in the white-controlled mass media, are combined to produce largely unrecognized psychological and behavioral effects upon both groups. These effects perpetuate the institutional subordination of black people because of their color.[98]

The distortion and exploitation of the black community by the communications media industry has recently been best evidenced by the wave of so-called "black" films deluging the black community. Over the past four years literally scores of "blaxploitation" films have appeared on the scene.

Prior to discovering the black market Hollywood was on the verge of bankruptcy. Today the industry is booming, with over forty percent of its profits coming from films that cost little to produce but which gross high returns. B. J. Mason describes this development:

> That trend began a few years ago when the movie industry fell into an economic slump. Sagging budgets and high production costs shook the old film colony to its roots and kept it from competing against new, independent film-makers. Those who survived the widespread unemployment crisis were saved by television, occasicnal musicals and grade-B westerns, but almost all the beneficiaries were white. Black actors, directors, producers and writers either had to make do or do without; industry racism and skepticism permitted only one Sidney Poitier, one Harry Belafonte or one Sammy Davis Jr. to make it--until 1970, when the

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[98] Cited In Hatcher, op. cit., p. 4.

experimental Cotton Comes To Harlem was released.[99]

The extent that these films have been an economic bonanza to the industry can be seen by these data on what some of the so-called "black" films have been grossing: "Cotton Comes To Harlem" ($9 million); "Sweetback's Baadassss Song" ($12 million); "Shaft" ($15 million); "Shaft's Big Score ($10 million); "Buck and the Preacher" ($9 million); "The Legend of Nigger Charley" ($5 million); "Melinda" ($5 million); and "Superfly" which grossed over $11 million in a little more than two months.[100] These figures do not tell the whole story because the movies are still showing at theaters across the nation and around the world (these data are from 1972), and because dozens of other similiar films have been earning high profits in addition to the few mentioned here. This is the exploitation side of the matter.

The movies, appearing when they did, filled a psychological void in black life. Blacks, with a resurgence of pride and dignity, were hungry to see themselves on the screen, and elsewhere. Unfortunately the images projected to them and to the entire society were anything but dignified and proud. Dope-pushers, pimps, prostitutes, hustlers con-merr, gansters, black mafia types, and other characters of this genre were the rule. "Super niggers" also prevailed. Black men and women who could dodge bullets, fly through the sky, fight and make love incessantly were portrayed as the heroes and heroines of these new "flicks." The damaging aspects of these films are that Blacks, and black youths in particular, seeking identity begin to identify with these images. At the same time as these films appeared a marked increase in black gang activity, in black-on-black crime, and in other anti-social black behavior could be observed in the black community. Of course, a causal relation can not be scientifically established simply because these two phenomena appear at the same time, but enough evidence exists to convince many concerned Blacks that films of this nature were detrimental to the total black community and to black children and young adults especially. Newsweek notes:

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[99] The New Black Films: Culture or Con Game?", Ebony, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2, December, 1972, p. 6.

[100] Loc. cit. and "Black Movies: Renaissance or Ripoff", Newsweek, October 23, 1972, p. 74.

> It is hard to guage the true influence of these movies, especially on young blacks. The newest rage among black youths at one Los Angeles high school is to wear their hair straightened and flowing, to sport wide-lapeled midi coats and to adorn themselves with tiny silver crosses and "coke spoons" around their necks all a la Priest in "Super Fly." But more important than clothes or hair is the "super bad" appeal of these movies. "A swift fist and a stiff penis, that's the Shaftian way" is how Clayton Riley sums up their morality.[101]

Black male-female relations and the black family, already under attack by some white social scientists of the

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[101] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

Moynihan school, were also severely affected. Young black men and boys began to view black women as sexual pieces to be used for physical and economic purposes. Stability was something to be avoided like the plague. Portraying black men as pimps and foot-loose, drifting vagabonds, these films reinforced the mythical, erroneous and harmful image that white scholars had created about black males and the black family. They also encouraged black youth to affect the behavior, attitudes, stances, postures, habits and views projected over the screen as the black way and as the "in thang", thus realizing and actualizing the myths and stereotypes created about black life. These films are given added legitimacy because they are filmed in black neighborhoods many times using community residents, and they are therefore easily recognizable and identified with, even thought they present a most distorted image of the black community, its diversity, its affairs, and its realities. In addition many of these films generally satirize black civil rights and liberation organizations right out of existence, thus creating the impression that "the movement is dead", and placing Blacks into states of social and political lethargy and limbo. Blacks are being shown that the way to fight the "system" is to become a criminal and to "rip the 'man' off". One need not elaborate on the negative effects of themes like these, especially in an era of "law and order". Damage is further accrued when whites, especially those unfamiliar with and fearful of Blacks (probably the vast majority), view, read or hear about these pictures. Their fears, racism, and suspicions are reinforced, justified and rationalized by the image of Blacks as criminals, lazy, good-for-nothing, welfare cheaters and sex athletes. Mason has commented on the historical relationship among Blacks, the movie industry, and the larger American public:

> The history of blacks in cinema is, with few exceptions, a chronicle of stereotypes and distortions. Deliberately or otherwise, white film-makers have depicted blacks as lazy darkies, happy slaves, cannibals and brainless phalli--negative images which provided "entertainment" for millions of viewers who left yesteryear's movies convinced that to be white was to be unquestionably good, but to be black was to be utterly evil. Despite protests from civil rights groups and concerned private citizens, film studios in the early 20th century continued to grind out--in the name of "entertainment"--such sordid fare as "The Nigger", "The Coward", "Sambo", "The Wooing And Wedding Of A Coon", and "The Birth Of A Nation". The result: sweet poison down the throat of America, a mint for the makers of myths, and a hard row to hoe for the serious black artists who had to pork-chop their way from grass huts to kitchens to stardom. Witness the emergence of Stepin Fitchit, Topsy, and Amos 'n' Andy. Personalities such as Paul Robeson (Emperor Jones, 1933) and Rex Ingram (The Green Pastures, 1936) were the exceptions, but exceptions were not in demand. The public wanted, and box-office prudence dictated, --caricatures--at the expense of black integrity.[102]

Just as Mason notes exceptions in past depictures of Blacks by this industry, we too can note exceptions in today's portrayal of black life. Films such as "Sounder", "Lady Sings The Blues", "Claudine" and some others offer an antidote to the poison exhibited in the "blaxploitation" films which are still the vast majority of "black" films. Most of the better black films have come as a result of pressure by black actors, and actresses, producers, and directors within the field, and black organizations outside of it upon the industry to stop the double-whammy of exploitation and distortion. Some blacks have gone into producing their own films as an alternative to the problems of confronting an industry interested in profit at any cost.

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[102] Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

Closely related to the fact that the communications media industry has a dismal record in reporting about and presenting the activities, the culture, the views and attitudes of Black Americans, is the fact that this industry has successfully closed its doors to Blacks as either employees, owners, or members of governmental watchdog agencies of the media. The following statistics reveal the extent to which Blacks (and other racial minorities) are excluded from direct meaningful participation in the media industry.

Beginning with the press, a survey conducted by the office of Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm, showed that 18 major newspapers in large cities with substantial minority group populations had a lower than average minority employment percentage than all other industries as a whole.[103] In the industry only 4.2 percent of all employees are Black and only 1.5% of those classified as "professionals" are Black. For periodicals the figures are somewhat higher, Blacks constitute 7.3 percent of all employees in this area, and 2.5% of the professionals. Considering that there are over 225 black publications in circulation, it is reasonable to assume that many of the black employees, especially those in the "professional" class are accounted for by these publications. Supporting this assumption is the fact that none of the major papers have assigned a black reporter to their Washington bureaus.

At other levels in this industry, Blacks are 6% of all professionals, 3% of the technicians, 2% of the sales workers, and 15% of laborers and 46% of the service workers.

As for ownership and control of the media, only one of the 905 operating commercial and noncommercial television stations in this country in 1972 was black owned, this one is in Washington, D.C. and begins operation only after a long struggle to get started. A black group in Gary, Indiana recently obtained a cable television franchise from that city. A group of Blacks in Detroit, owners of WGPR (FM), applied for the license to channel 62. A black group in Nashville, Tennessee acquired control of WMCV-TV in that city. There are few other television stations that are black controlled. More than 7,000 radio stations are licensed in the United States. Some 360 are black-programmed or oriented to the black community; but, by the highest estimate, only 21 are black owned. The quality of the programming of the stations broadcasting to black listeners leaves much to be desired and there is plenty of room for substantial improvement. The Black Congressional Caucus points out that some of these stations have been more exploitive than useful to the black community; their position paper indicates that "at least 17 of the white proprietors have become millionaires through the exploitation of the black public."

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[103] These data and all that follow are taken from the following sources: Shirley Chisholm, "The White Press: Racist and Sexist"; Pamela Douglas, "Black Television: Avenues of Power"; Hatcher. op. cit.; Francis B. Ward, "Black Press in Crisis", all in Black Scholar, September, 1973, vol. 5, no. 1; Marquita Jones, "Racism in Television"; Sales, op. cit., both in Black World, March, 1971, Vol. XX, No. 5; Hazel V. Bright, "TV Versus Black Survival"; Oliver Gray, "Black Politics and Cable TV", both in Black World, December, 1973, Vol. XXIII, No. 2.

Black involvement in regulatory agencies and commissions is minimal when and where it exists. Judge Benjamin Hooks is a black commissioner with the Federal Communications Commission, he is but one man. Blacks are lacking policy-and decision-making positions in most state, local, and national regulatory bodies. In New York City where Blacks and other "minorities" make up over 23% of the population, their interests were overlooked by the Office of Telecommunications in its staffing and operations.

While it would appear that in the print media Blacks are viable, having over 200 publications, this is not the case, one finds out upon closer examination. Francis B. Ward in his article (see footnote number 103) states that black newspapers have lost both circulation and impact over the past 30 years. Only one paper, Muhammed Speaks, has a circulation of over 100,000 (its circulation is estimated at being over 600,000) whereas in the mid-1940's there were a dozen black owned and operated weeklies with circulations of at least 100,000. Ward identifies several factors for this decline: irrelevancy of news coverage, growing need for advertising revenue, and competition with the white media for talent and readership. Black periodicals seem to be having some degree of success. Magazines such as Ebony, Jet, Black World (all Johnson publications), Essence, Encore, Black Scholar and a few others appear to be holding their own. Many other periodicals geared to a black public come and go, or are barely surviving.

The list of indictments against the media could continue and could include charges not mentioned in this paper. But it should be quite evident that the media have played and play a not unimportant role in transmitting images and views of Blacks to the larger world and to Blacks themselves. It is an almost well known fact that 99.5% of the households in America have at least one television set and almost every home have a television, radio, and/or receive a newspaper. The average television set is on for more than six hours daily, and studies have shown that black children watch television on an average of six and one-half hours per day. Their combined exposure to television and radio, not to mention commercial movies, per week exceeds the amount of time they spend in schools. It has also been shown by a University of Michigan study, reported in Gray's article, that "the media is used for 'norm acquisition' and 'reinforcement'".[104] Gray has this to say about television's influence on Blacks:

> According to various studies, most Black homes tend to rely quite heavily on television for information...The thrust of these studies is that Blacks may get their values and measure themselves against televised ideas.[105]

In addition to this influence, Blacks are just as likely as others in this society to be affected by the anti-social and prosocial influences of television. Children's programs such as "Sesame Street" and "Electric Company" are considered by parents, teachers, and others to be of value, and do project positive images for children of all races and backgrounds. But programs of this sort are the exceptions and not the rule. Many black children still watch programs that adversely and negatively portray them and their life-styles and heritage.

In statistical jargon, the correlation between Blacks and the communications media is a high, inverse one. That is, the media interact with and impact the black community in a strong but negative manner. For many black intellectuals and political leaders this relationship is not accidential, but one of design. It is viewed as being a deliberate and conspired attempt to subject Blacks to forces that amount to cultural, spiritual and intellectual genocide.

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[104] Gray, op. cit., p. 46.

[105] Ibid.

It is for these reasons that many Blacks, especially scholars, activists and aware students, distrust communications technology and see a need for seizing control over sources of communications that impinge upon black minds. As for active plans and programs to accomplish this end in educational settings, and as for the view that many educators and non-educators have or do not have of the communications technology, these issues will be discussed in other chapters of this work. Marquita Jones' comments provide an apt summary for this section:

> The Black community is getting more exposure from the mass media than it ever has before. There have been some significant job openings and a few new training programs. But, the orientation of the media has not changed. Black people have gotten this exposure because it was profitable for white people to cooperate with Black demands. Until Black people have significant financial control over communications in the Black community, there will always be the threat of cancellation, censorship, and distorted information about what is happening in the Black community.[106]

Before turning to some of the other issues involved in the topic of this work, one would be quite remiss if he

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[106] "Racism in Television", op. cit., p. 78.

(or she) did not broaden the issue of technology to include the larger public. By implication the point has been alluded to that whites and others are affected by communications technology and by any other kind of technology in this country. Clearly a means of preparing people to be able to intelligently assess and cope with technological change is needed so that they can better inform and influence public policy dealing with technological concerns, and also so that they can more comfortably accept the change as a part of life and not have to suffer Toffler's "future shock".

Technology and the American Public

The influence of technology on American life is at the same time obvious and subtle, direct and indirect, threatening and life-saving. No part of life in this country has escaped the all-pervasive impact and influence of science and technology. Medicine, law, education, religion, social services, business, and every other organized (and unorganized) institution have all undergone some degree of transformation because of the use of technology in carrying out their missions. In order to survive, they had to make use of, and even to develop, new technologies which allowed them to keep up with the pace of change. Continued use of new and developing technologies and of scientific knowledge by these institutions is mandatory and inevitable. Continued change in these institutions partially as a result of their ingestion of new technological innovations is guaranteed.

How people will respond to the rapid rate of change in their institutional environment and therefore, in their personal lives is a question of great interest today to policy-makers, scientists, intellectuals, and the aware, concerned citizen. Paul Goodman, in Compulsory Mis-Education maintains that man must "learn to live in a high technology". However, just learning to adapt to a technocratic environment is not enough. In order to preserve what semblance of democracy and freedom that exist in America, people in this country must also be able to manipulate, control, and have a voice in this ever-growing technological society and world.

Many writers have expressed various opinions about how to accomplish the feat of involving a lay public in the policy- and decision-making processes dealing with scientific and technological matters. This becomes a very crucial and central issue in a self-proclaimed democracy. Some observers of the technology scene forecast that societal decisions will be made by a new elite, a class of "technocrats"--scientists and engineers--who will gain control of society because of their knowledge of and competency in technology. In a "meritocracy" and in an increasingly complex technological state, these "philosopher-kings" (in the sense of Plato) become "naturals" for the leadership roles in a society of this nature. How to offset a development of this sort? Many responses are possible to this question. Two that somewhat represent a middle-of-the-road approach are reviewed here. (The other end of the spectrum not mentioned here is that group of writers calling for the overthrow of the technological system by violent revolution.)

Don K. Price is a scientist and political scientist. As dean of the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University and president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science at the time that he lectured at the University of Illinois Centennial Year Final Week Celebration in 1968, he was in a very unique and advantageous position to speak on "Science and Technology in a Democratic Society--Educating for the Scientific Age".[107]

Price covers in his lecture a crucially important aspect of education that is very much related to the technological revolution and its concommitant impacts that is sweeping this society. He addresses himself to the issue of what should the responsible citizen know about science in order to meaningfully and intelligently influence the democratic decision-making processes.

He recognizes (1) the powerful influence of science and scientists in altering values and guiding the purpose of national policy; (2) that science becomes part of the political system when research is supported by government grants.

In tackling this issue, Price shows the complexities and subtlities involved in this dilemma. He contends that traditional values will not control science, for science will be influential in shaping human values. Further, he maintains that the populist notion is untenable in today's complex society, and he feels that all citizens do not equally understand science. Since "neither the Platonic ideal of government by absolute truth nor the populist distrust of authority and intellectual discrimination can serve as the theoretical basis for reconciling modern science with free and responsible government",[108] Price feels that two things should be told to "other responsible citizens" by scientists. "The first is how science is in theory related to other types of knowledge and to human values, and second how in practice the scientific community and scientific institutions are related to the governmental system."[109]

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[107] This speech is reproduced in Educating for the Twenty-First Century, Kingman Brewsters et al. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1969) pp. 21-36.

Price further argues for "looking on the sciences as humane studies, and their disciplines as a part of the intellectual equipment of the man who wishes to understand modern civilization"; by so doing, "we have made the first step toward seeing the relation of the sciences to man as part of organized society, the political system.[110] For him this "first step" should include an effort by a "considerable proportion" of the population to learn "some substantive science," in as much depth as one's capacity and circumstances permit. Another step, the second one, would be for scientists to recognize the political significance of science.

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[108] Ibid., p. 28.

[109] Ibid.

[110] Ibid., p. 35.

Price has covered some very important ground in this lecture. In one respect he has proposed a way to fight the "Future Shock" that Toffler has identified. More and more people should be aware of the marriage between science and politics, and the influences of this union on our everyday lives. Price has dissected and elaborated upon this marriage most commendably.

Another commentator who posits a means to cope with the problem of technology and democracy is Professor Harold P. Green. Green argues for a mechanism in government itself that is an adversary process speaking and looking out for the public's benefit and interest. In stating his care for a "technological ombudsman", he makes this point:

> Since the issue is one of benefits *to the public* versus costs (including risk *to the public*, the focus of technology assessment should be to arrive at a conclusion as to what costs (including risks) the public is prepared to assume in exchange for what benefits. In our democracy, such decisions cannot appropriately be made by an elite body of specialists and generalists (who are specialists in technology assessment). They should be made by the public itself expressing its views through its elected representatives in Congress who are accountable to their constituents. This requires that the entire assessment process take place in the open with full articulation, in language the public can understand, of the benefits and costs (including risks). In short, I do not agree with Mr. Carpenter that there is any viable

> distinction between *political* assessment and *technology* assessment. Technology assessment is not an appropriate function for experts; rather, it is a process which should be performed entirely at the political level (emphasis in the original).[111]

Both of these commentators place the burden of their solutions on two groups. Prices sees the scientific community and the educational institutions playing key roles in the process of preparing the lay public to understand the participate in public policy regarding science and technology. Green puts the onus on the political system and, like Price, on the scientists and technologists. Clearly government, education, and science all have key roles in informing and giving the public the tools to understand and decided upon important, complex scientific and technological issues. Many such issues have been brought to the fore in recent years: the Alaskan pipeline, the Supersonic Transport system, genetic engineering, the I.Q. controversy, the energy shortage, the space exploration program, and a host of others parade across television, radio, and the press daily and incessantly In addition to the afore-mentioned institutions (government, education, and science), the communications media could play a very important and pivotal role in the job of educating the public for decision-making on technical issues.

Communications technology itself is one of the major technologies responsible for widespread transformation in basic social institutions. Telephones, telegrams, transitor radios, televisions, movies, photographic equipment and accessories, inter alia, have joined with the printed word and the "grapevine" to add new dimensions in the institutional and personal life of every person living in the United States. In addition to its various technologies, the institution of communications can affect the public by its message (or lack of message). Although there is great validity in McLuhan's "the medium is the message", the content of any information system takes on an importance over and beyond the nature of its specific delivery device.

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[111] "The Adversary Process in Technology Assessment", Albert H. Teich, (ed.), *Technology and Man's Future* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1972) p. 255.

Realizing that the communications industry could assist in providing the kind of expertise needed for a lay public to govern a techno-democratic state, one wonders if it does or if it is likely to take upon itself this role. If black critics and their criticism are any indication of the state of affairs with the commercial communications media, it is quite obvious, at least from a black viewpoint, that the mass communications media is not interested in serving the masses but only in servicing them. Blacks do not enjoy a monopoly in being wary and watchful of the media. Many non-black observers and critics of the media have questioned the power, influence, and integrity of the communications establishment. These critics run the gamut of political ideologies. Former Vice President Spiro T. Agnew in his crusade against the news media charged in public speeches "A small group of men, numbering perhaps no more than a dozen, decide what forty to fifty million Americans will learn of the day's events in the nation and the world." Nicholas Johnson, reknowned liberal television critic and former maverick Federal Communications Commissioner describes the pervasive influence of television on American life:

> Television is more than just another great public resource--like air and water--ruined by private and public inattention. It is the greatest communications mechanism ever designed and operated by man. It pumps into the human brain an unending stream of information, opinion, moral values, and esthetic taste. It cannot be a neutral influence. Every minute of television programming--commercials, entertainment, news--teaches us something.
>
> Most Americans tell pollsters that television constitutes their principal source of information. Many of our senior citizens are tied to their television sets for intellectual stimulation. And children now spend more time learning from television than from church and school combined. By the time they enter first grade they will have received more hours of instruction from television networks than they will later receive from college professors while earning a bachelor's degree. Whether they like it or not, the television networks are playing the roles of teacher, preacher, parent, public official, doctor, psychiatrist, family counselor, and friend for tens of millions of Americans each day of their lives.
>
> TV programming can be creative, educational, uplifting, and refreshing without being tedious. But the current television product that drains away lifetimes of leisure energy is none of these. It leaves its addicts waterlogged. Only rarely does it contribute anything meaningful to their lives.[112]

Saturday Review's communications editor, Richard L.

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[112] "What Do We Do About Television?", Saturday Review, July 11, 1970, p. 14.

Tobin, editorializes and laments over the fact that there is a "coming age of news monopoly". He points to the geopolitical fact that three-fourth of the world population "live in a comparatively narrow strip of land between 33% and 53% north latitude" and that "since 90 per cent of the world's industry also lies in that narrow strip on the northern half of the globe, most of it in North America and Western Europe, that is where news is gathered and, to a large degree, published and broadcast on a regular basis".[113] He puts this consideration together with evidence of increasing monopolization in the news industry; his own words best express his concern:

> The other fact is the coming age of news monopoly, an era in which more than 95 per cent of all the daily newspapers in the United States will have no local print competition, where only two national newsgathering organizations will supply virtually everything broadcast over the average radio or TV station, and where a tiny handful of executives and news operators in but three networks will pretty much determine what the American electronic audience is allowed to know about the world in which it is trying to exist. When one combines the amazingly narrow focus of news interest and news customers with a trend toward monopoly in communication, one begins to shudder and wonder if 1984 is not nearer than George Orwell predicted particularly as print and electronic techniques move ever closer.[114]

Tobin's fear of a news monopoly is further underscored by this mass of facts and figures given by Herbert

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[113] "The Coming Age of News Monopoly", Saturday Review, October 10, 1970, p. 51.

[114] Ibid.

Brucker:

> Monopoly of the press obviously makes it possible to transform journalism from an uninhibited cacophony into a single, overvoice. And in practical terms, monopoly in printed journalism is already here. For example: In 1910, when our population was 92 million, there were 2,600 daily newspapers in the country. Since then the number of papers has plummeted, even though population has shot up to more than 200 million. True, since World War II the shrinkage in the number of dailies has stopped. The total keeps hovering somewhere over the 1,750 mark. But because there are ever fewer papers per reader, the survivors speak with that much more powerful a voice.
>
> Then, too, there are the chains. If the Hearst empire has diminished, from twenty-odd dailies to eight, there are plenty of others: Newhouse, Scripps-Howard, Gannett, Cowles, Copley, and numerous smaller fry. Lord Thomson of Fleet apparently does not know, from one day to the next, how many more papers than 150 he does own. But twenty-five or more of them are in this country.
>
> Less conspicuous are the minor multiple ownerships that grow at an astonishing rate as individual papers, from the Los Angeles *Times* down to little ones, buy up one or more others. All told, ownerships of two or more newspapers now number about 160.
>
> Moreover, only two wire services give the entire nation its basic information about the world. And most monopolistic of all is the fact that journalism in the United States, except in a surviving handful of cities, consists of one ownership per town. Recently, Congress, by exempting joint newspaper operations in twenty-two of those cities from the antitrust laws, has reinforced monopoly.[115]

Spiro T. Agnew, as Vice President, had denounced the news media as "a tiny enclosed fraternity of privileged men,

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[115] "Can Printed News Save A Free Society?", *Saturday Review*, October 10, 1970, p. 52.

elected by no one and enjoying a monopoly..." The power of the media can best be attested to by Mr. Agnew himself. It was the doing of the news media that lead to Agnew's unceremonious, dramatic and shameful departure from his coveted and privileged position as Vice President of the United States, and to his ruin as a political figure and presidential hopeful. The most recent and truest demonstration of this unbridled power of the news media has been their role in unseating the man who many call the most powerful in the world, the President of the United States. Any analysis by future historians and scholars of this monumental event will surely point to the press and the electronic media as the major forces in the historical resignation of Richard Milhouse Nixon. In their stunning victory in their long-running battle with Nixon the news merchants clearly and effectively showed that they are one of the essentials of the "power elites" in the United States (and throughout the world). While this time they were the "good guys" against the "bad guys", one shudders to think that the next time this awesome power may be turned against some group or groups that incur(s) their wrath. Is it paranoia to think that Blacks (along with other oppressed people) may be victims of this power in light of the past contemptuous and racist nature of media's posture to Blacks (and other non-W.A.S.P. people) and in view of the current poor effort to actively involve Blacks meaningfully in the media segment of American life?

It is extremely difficult to bring to a conclusion this discussion of technology, especially communications technology, and its effect on the American public in general, and on the Black populace in particular. It should be quite evident by the myriad of facts, figures, and interpretations that the mass communications media are for all purposes dysfunctional and counter-productive for the majority of Black Americans. One should also suspect that the media in their present state of affairs bode more ill than good for the society at large, that the commercial news organizations of this country pose more of a threat to the so-called democracy of this country than a means of achieving it, and that they will probably not be of much help in providing useful information to assist in the protection of the public from a techno-meritocratic elite. Indeed, the communications media constitute part of this elite. Jules Henry maintains that this society "requires a high level of stupidity in order to exist as it is". He goes on to demonstrate his point:

> For example, if television had a truly well-educated audience and newspapers and magazines well-educated readers, the economy would collapse, because, since nobody would then be impressed by the advertising, they would not buy.[116]

Nor would they watch or listen to the broadcast programming or read the "news" and the other meager tidbits presented to them by the press. The content, the medium itself, and the monopolistic nature of the media would all be subjected to great scrutiny and change. It would take a bold network or publisher to do an expose on the mass communications industry. Industry regulation of itself never seems to end in the public interest. The marriage between government, business and the mass communications industry hinders effective regulation by the other partners in what the French would call *une ménage a trois*. (One should not confuse the recent news media campaign against the Nixon administration as an attack on the government. Although Nixon used his office as a shield, the media were not attempting to abolish the office of the presidency or the executive branch, they were just trying to rid it of its occupant.) It is a well-known fact that the major commercial broadcast interests dictate the policies of the FCC (Federal Communications Commission), as so many other industries dominate the governmental agencies supposedly "regulating" and monitoring those industries.

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[116] Jules Henry on Education, (New York: Random House, 1972), p. 22.

Since the media cannot fulfill their potential as an educational source for the public on scientific and technological issues, the burden, by necessity, falls on 1) the public itself to a) inform itself by alternatives means and b) force the media to live up to their potential, 2) the system of schooling, 3) the government, and 4) the scientific community.

Chapter 7

TECHNOLOGY AND EDUCATION*

The forces of technology have been sweeping into every arena of national life: industry, defense, government, health care, etc. It is only natural to expect that these same forces would find their way into this major institution that we call education. This intrusion by equipment and capital into a man- and labor-dominated activity has created some controversy inside and outside of the institution. The debate surrounding this intrusion has taken on moral, political, financial, philosophical, and pedagogical overtones.

Conceptual and Definitional Problems

Before discussing specific technologies, media or information systems, and their applicabilities and applications, it is necessary to begin by raising some general issues and questions. The merger of educational activities with the technical world has lead to a number of nomenclatures to describe this phenomenon. Terms such as "instructional media", "educational technology", "educational media", "technologies of communications", "educational telecommunications" and "programmed learning" are all encountered in the literature on this matter. If there is such a lack of common term, with common usage, to describe this merger, one wonders if there is also a lack of a common conceptual meaning of it. At this stage it appears quite evident that this is the case. On the broadest conceptual level, "educational technology" has two different meanings, deriving from different scholastic and disciplinary origins. At the operational level one can get dizzy and bewildered with the many, many different meanings for this one process, for this supposedly one concept. Since our space is limited and our task (for the purposes of this paper) is multifold, we shall only briefly elaborate upon the two broad conceptual meanings of this term and their sources or origin. We cannot discuss the implications that this diversity of conceptual and functional meanings hold for education and the possible dysfunctional and confusing effects it has on educators, laymen, and the field of education itself.

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*Some of the material in this section is drawn from an earlier unpublished paper "Development, Education, and Educational Technology in Africa", by this author.

One conception of "educational technology" derives from the area of psychology (and to some extent from education, i.e. educational psychology). The behaviorist school of thought in psychology can be said to be responsible for this movement in education, along with development in theoretical and experimental psychology. B. F. Skinner is considered the "Dean" of the behaviorists, and it is his influence more than anyone else's that has contributed to the growth of teaching machines or programmed instruction as a viable instructional alternative.

The essence of the theory behind programmed instruction is immediate feedback. The theoretical justification of this notion is given by Edward B. Fry:

> Research long ago emphasized the importance of rewards as motivation for learning. Knowledge of correct response is perhaps the most important reward the teacher can give. It is satisfying to the student to know that he has answered a question correctly, to know that he is understanding. We have also learned that the more frequent the rewards the better the student assimilates materials. Ideally, he should be rewarded for answering each question correctly, even each part of each question. Also, it has been proven that more learning takes place when errors are corredted *immediately*. Fortunately, a basic characteristic of teaching machine is "immediate-knowledge-of-results."[117]

This approach distrusts the teacher, audio-visual aids, *et al*. as rewarding agents because their rewards "are somewhat random, intangible, and sometimes even spurious (that is, they may reward the wrong bit of learning as much as the right one)".[118] This says that these sources of learning (or, more appropriately, teaching) are unscientific. The two following statements would suffice to indicate the manner in which educational technology is perceived by many educators and psychologists. For them it is application of "scientifically established principles". W. Kenneth Richmond includes in his book, *The Concept of Educational Technology*, an excerpt from *New Media and Methods in Industrial Training*, J. Robinson and N. Barners (eds.), which contains the following definition of educational technology as defined by Mr. G.

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[117] "Teaching Machines: The Coming Automation", in J. P. DeCecco (ed.), *Educational Technology* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1964), p. 23.

[118] Fry, *Ibid*.

O. M. Leith for the National Center for Programmed Learning, a British organization:

> Education technology is the application of scientific knowledge about learning, and the conditions of learning, to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of teaching and training. In the absence of scientifically established principles, educational technology implements techniques of empirical testing to improve learning situations.[119]

This emphasis on the "scientific" is again shown in a similar definition of educational technology. Ivor K. Davis cited this meaning for the term, as given by A. A. Lumsdaine:

> Educational technology refers to the application of scientific principles to instruction...Thus, this view of educational emphases objectives and performances, in the sense that the teacher or programmer commits himself to bring previously specified behaviors up to a previously specified level. Furthermore, these behaviors are concrete rather than abstract, are measurable and observable, and consist of knowledge, skills, and attitudes actually wanted and desired by the teacher.[120]

The other notion of educational technology that popularly shares the limelight with its sometimes opposing, sometimes interrelated namesake, has its origins in the fields of engineering, communications, the physical sciences and the business world. Engineering, the physical sciences, and communications, developed the hardware and principles by which it works. The 'knowledge industry' researched, developed, marketed, and used high pressure techniques to sell the goodies, bringing them into widespread use and recognition. This second notion of educational technology is well summarized and defined by A. A. Lumsdaine. His definition is cited in Davies[121] and is reproduced in part here:

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[119] Cited in Richmond, Concept of Educational Technology (London: Weidenfeid and Nicholson, 1920), p. 5.

[120] "Introduction: The Nature of Educational Technologies", I. K. Davies and J. Hartley (eds.) Contributions to an Educational Technology (London: Butterworth, 1972), pp. 2-4.

> Educational technology refers to the application of engineering principles or technology to instrumentation useful to the process of teaching...Essentially, it is a hardware approach, stressing the urgent need for developing audio-visual aids for teaching, rather than simply trying to apply aids which have been developed for other purposes...In this way, the process of teaching has been mechanised through the production of teaching aids. These transmit, amplify, distribute, record and reproduce stimuli materials with a consequent increase in teacher impact...

Numerous other definitions have been advanced by specialists in the field. Armsey and Dahl[122] review the range of definitions for what they call the "things of learning". It would serve the reader well to look at their discussion and summary of the various usages that different theoreticians and practitioners have for "educational technology". (They themselves call it "instructional technology".)

As was said before, these different notions of "educational technology" have different implications and applications for use in educational settings. While it is not our purpose to explore these diverse conceptual, definitional, and semantical issues and their ramifications in the field of education, we can present a succint capsulization of the difficulties wrought by such a range of meanings as identified by two vice presidents of the Ford Foundation, David E. Bell and Harold Howe:

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[121] Davies, Ibid., p. 2.

[122] An Inquiry into the Uses of Instructional Technology (New York: A Ford Foundation Report, 1973), Chapter One.

> Instructional technology is a moving target in part because of the changing nature of the technology itself, and in part because of the varying interpretations of its effectiveness and importance. It is a concept that arouses strong emotions among both its advocates and its adversaries. Some theoreticians conceive of instructional technology as supplementary to the teacher; others, anticipating a more active role, see it as a replacement for the traditional teacher. Despite the depth of feeling that it evokes and its increasing prominence, the field is enshrouded in vague definitions, hazy purposes, and murky evaluations.
>
> This is the result of a variety of factors; different interpretations of the field itself; confused and conflicting objectives; too much emphasis on technology for its own sake; too many inflated promises by the "hardware" people; too little attention to the quality of the "software"; overt, covert, and sustained resistance by the teaching establishment; lack of rigor and specificity in research; failure to follow through on demonstrations; and a reluctance to use technology in place of rather than as an additive to what is already in progress. Such unwillingness simultaneously sustains pockets of sabotage in the existing system and creates cost levels that cannot be sustained.
>
> The purposes are usually multiple. They include: to improve instruction (qualitative); to educate more people (quantitative); to learn about learning (research); to reform the curriculum (substance); to improve the process (method); and to articulate the system (structure). While these are all laudable objectives, when they are intermingled at the beginning they are difficult to separate at the end. The state of the art might be more rapidly advanced if the proponents

> of research projects, experiments, or demonstrations were required to state clearly and unambiguously their purposes before the projects' inception, to adhere to them while the project is underway, and to measure their achievement after the project is completed.[123]

It is quite clear that a great deal more thought and work must be applied to the field of educational technology to improve its usefulness and effectiveness in education. Because of these fundamental imperfections, care must be taken in adopting and adapting the various technological devices that make up the communications technology. For the purposes of this paper when speaking of "educational technology" or one of its synonymous terms we shall be using a qualified version of the second conception of it presented in this paper, that is the adoptation, the adaptation, the application, the utilization, and the development of various technological devices such as satellites, television, radio, cable systems, computers, video and, in addition, film audio-visual equipment, recording instruments, *ad infinitum*, and the necessary programming or "software" in formal, non-formal, traditional and informal, socialization and training processes and institutions.

The Technologies[124]

In this section we present a brief, non-technical description of the major technologies that are being used, planned, or proposed for educational service. Strictly speaking, every mechnical and electronic discovery and development in engineering has the potential to be pressed into use for educational purposes. This point should be kept in mind because in the next several years and decades rapid and mind-boggling developments and devices *will* be occurring in and produced by research centers, universities, government, business, and industry. The devices, machines and programs mentioned below may or may not become obsolete in short order, and the nature of educational technology changed accordingly.

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[123] Introduction, *op. cit.*, p. IX.

[124] See the above reference for an excellent exposition of most of the major technologies discussed in this section; also, see R. P. Morgan *et al.*, "Satellites for U. S.

Television is by far the most and perhaps familiar of all the technologies (with the possible exception of radio). An image is captured by an electronic camera, which generates a signal that is processed electrically in a transmitting station and delivered to the home receiver most commonly by "very high frequency"(vhf) or "ultra high frequency" (uhf) electromagnetic waves. Along with this video information, an audio (sound) signal is transmitted, and both are reproduced in the home television set.

Cable Communications Systems are capable of transmitting not only television and radio signals but computer information as well. By use of coaxial cables or wires audio, video and digital information signals can be conveyed from one source to another. Cable systems being installed have limited

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Education: Needs, Opportunities and Systems", AIAA Paper No. 72-523, American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics (New York, N.Y.) 1972.

two-way capability, with television signals being sent one way and digital or radio responses the other. Also cable television (CATV) has much greater channel capacity than does regular broadcast television. And it offers better reception. Cable television can transmit electronic signals through a network of cables to television and radio receivers, computers and electronic signal receiving devices.

Video reproduction entails electronically storing miniature, talking pictures on magnetic tapes, discs, or film for immediate or future replay. A number of ways of doing this exists or have been proposed--magnetic videotape, electronic video recording (EVR), video disc, Selecta Vision, video cassette systems, etc. Video technology may be used in conjunction with televisions, computers, video telephones, satellites, or it may stand on its own. Videotape recorders and players, along with "portapaks", make for a complete system of electronic communications.

Computers are based on a binary numbering system, that is they make "yes" or "no" decisions. Electronic digital computers use the base two numbers of 0 and 1 as the basis for their electronic circuitry, which permit "yes" or "no" decisions by a series of switching operations by electrical elements. Electrical impulses are either present or absent and switches are either on or off as a result of electrical impulses flowing along one pathway or another, or not flowing at all.

Computers perform arithmetic (addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division) and logical operations. A computer "computes", compares and moves data. That is all that it does. But it performs these functions rapidly in millionths and billionths of a second, using miniature, integrated circuitry to electronically process data.

A computer system consists of "hardware" and "software". Hardware is the actual machinery and equipment of the system and software is the programs, routines, codes and machine languages which instruct and direct the operations of digital computers. The four components of a computing system are the central processing unit (CPU), the input-output system, a controlling unit or buffer, and a memory unit.

Satellites as a communication medium enhances and extends the capabilities of the other media. There are two types of communication satellites, one, the "direct-broadcast" satellite and the other, the "fixed" satellite.

Morgan *et al*. explains the difference:

> The difference between "fixed" and "broadcast" satellites emerges from the following definitions of service categories. The broadcasting satellite service is a space communication service in which signals transmitted or retransmitted by satellites are intended for direct reception by the general public. The fixed satellite service is a space communication service between earth stations at specified points. Two distinct categories exist in the broadcasting satellite service: systems that allow for individual reception by simple receiving units in homes, and systems which are designed for community reception.[125]

Actually due to technical, economic, and political complexities, no satellite now existing or in planning can broadcast television signals directly to home receivers; they must be transmitted to community receptors, and then relayed to individual home receivers. It has been said that the so-called direct broadcast communications satellites may be more accurately termed "semi-direct" broadcast satellites.[126]

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[125] "Improving Productivity of School Systems Through Educational Technology; Final Report of Symposium, August, 1973", Research for Public Schools, Inc., Philadelphia, Pa., p. 315, (footnote number 6).

Satellites permit widespread dissemination and reception of information and data conveyed in electronic signal form over great terrestial distance. The communications satellite serves as the intermediary, the medium, for other communications technology and media.

These technologies, television, cable television, video reproduction, computers, and satellites, are the major devices encountered in discussions on utilization of technical hardware in education. In addition a variety of other hardware and software are used or proposed. They include radio; films, movies (8, Super 8, and 16 mm) and slides; opaque, overhead and movie projectors; audio tape and tape-recorders; programmed instruction; video telephones and amplified telephones; filmstrips, slow-scan and still-picture media; microwave technology; holography and laser beam techniques; microfiche and miniaturization, and facsimile technology; programmed instruction; fiber optics; and other devices, techniques, and programs. We must also note that the "traditional" school technology consists of books, pencils, paper, blackboards, chalk, erasers, etc.

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[126] "Its ATS-Six Now" JCET News, Vol. VI, No. 5, May, 1974, p. 2.

Some of the Educational Applications of Technology

It is absolutely impossible, given space considerations, to discuss and describe the many actual, possible and proposed uses of any one of these many technologies, less more to try to do so for them all. Only some of the more salient uses of broadcast television, computers and cable television will be mentioned here.

Broadcast television is the oldest of the three technologies reviewed here in the field of schooling, and in other spheres of learning. Schools, colleges, industry, and the Federal Government (through the Public Broadcasting Service) beam instructional programs to audiences via closed circuit systems, educational stations or networks, or by way of commercial stations. In different locales different arrangements are found. Courses, either academic or training in nature, are presented to school children, to adults in their homes, at work sites, incarcerated in penal institutions, in hospitals, and to college students. In addition to courses, special programs, and lectures, regular programs such as "Sesame Street" and "Electric Company" are presented over the air. Cable television has the same educational applications, only its programs are transmitted via co-axial cable. Two advantages that cable television has over broadcast are its expanded channel capacity, and its interactive capabilities, allowing one to "talk back" to his television set. With the many channels available with cable television, many instructional and enlightening programs can be shown at times other than the early morning or late evening hours.

The computer has basically three uses in education (schooling) - research, instruction, and administration. As a research tool it allows for the manipulation and complex analysis of large amounts of data with greater ease and accuracy than are possible with manual operations. In administration it is used primarily as an information storage and retrieval system, allowing administrators to generate information for input into the decision-making process. In both of these areas the use of the computer is growing, in the former, primarily in institutions of higher learning, and the latter, in public school systems (especially the larger urban ones). In the area of instruction, computer use has lagged for a number of reasons, generally the same ones as for the lack of use of the other technologies. A number of computerized instructional programs exist. Their use of the computer varies as does the resulting teacher-machine mix. Some programs are computer-based (CBI) and are the primary instructional agent. Computer-assisted instruction (CAI) is, as the name implies, an aid to the teaching-learning process. And computer-managed instruction (CMI), although it sometimes has a broader connotation, is an academic evaluation and record-keeping process. Many times the three terms are used interchangeably; some advocates use one or the other of them exclusively.

Hedges[127] has identified six major areas in which computers can provide or facilitate instruction. They are drill and practice, simple games, problem solving, inquiry mode, individualized testing, and calculation.

A number of computer systems are used in education. In addition to the well-known giants of the field, PLATO (Programmed Logic for Automatic Teaching Operations) developed by the University of Illinois and TICCIT (Time-Shared, Interactive, Computer-Controlled Information Television) developed by the MITRE Corporation in Virginia, there are TIES (Total Information for Educational Systems) operating in Minnesota's Twin City area, PLAN* developed by Westinghouse Learning Corporation, and TIPS (Teaching Information Processing System) developed and in operation at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Another system of interest, not developed by or for an educational institution, is the ILLIAC IV functioning at the NASA Ames Research Center in California. It combines 64 computing units operating under one centralized control unit. It is 10 to 20 times faster than the CDC 7600, which is considered the fastest conventional computer developed to date. Its compututional and storage facilities are phenomenal, and its potential is boundless. This system, along with many others in the developmental and planning stages extend and add to the possible educational applications of the computer.

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[127] William D. Hedges, "The Principal, The Computer, and Emerging Applications to Instruction", Phi Delta Kappan Vol. LV, No. 3 (November, 1973), pp, 174-176.

As we noted at the beginning of the preceding section it is impossible to guage the impact that new discoveries and developments in science and engineering will have on the so-called educational technologies. It may even be possible that some of the technological innovations will be specifically designed to meet specific, identified and pressing educational needs and priorities, as opposed to fitting educational operations to the specifications and requirements of the technology which is largely the case when technology is adopted and (mal)adapted for educational service. However, given the existing technology it is possible to use them creatively and innovately.

Educational Telecommunications Technology Networks

As we have alluded several times earlier, all or some of the devices mentioned above can be utilized in conjunction with each other as information transmitting system.

Ledbetter has outlined the basics of a communications system.[128] It consists of a transmitter and a receiver interlocked by a distribution channel. It involves a signal competing with noise for reception. And it requires power or energy to distribute the signal. In addition there is feedback. Content and form are said to be main ingredients of the system, with content being the message that is being communicated and form being the way in which the message is communicated.

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[128] Cablelines, Vol. 2, No. 4 (April, 1974), p. 5.

He shows the interrelatedness of these various elements by noting: "Every transmitter is simultaneously a channel and a receiver of information..." He also adds: "likewise, every channel is simultaneously a transmitter and receiver; and every receiver is a transmitter and a channel."[129]

A telecommunications technology network could conceivably consist of a simple system which involves only two of the technological systems mentioned earlier, say cable television and computers. (It is necessary to observe that each of the technologies is a system in its own right with its various component parts.) A one-way use of this hook-up would be to have the data or output from a computer operation transmitted (by cable, actually telephone cable!) to the cable television and displayed on it. An interactive (two-way) hook-up may call for the use of a dial-touch telephone, or a keyboard, from which data or information is transmitted to the computer, operated upon and then returned to the cable television set for reception.

More elaborate systems are possible.

Let's assume that we have filmed a local program using video equipment and we want to share it with a large audience separated by time and distance. We can play the program on a video player, transmit its signals via coaxial cable to a microwave relay unit, which beams the electronic impulses (the images on the video film) to satellite which houses a computer. The computer has a program which tells it when to emit the video film and to where. The film is either stored in the computer's memory unit until time for transmission or it is passed directly on to a location. Let's assume that in any case it will be disseminated to a local community satellite receptor where the signals are then made ready (by demultiplexing and amplification) for delivery via cable to a receiving unit in a home, business, school, office, or where have you. This receiving unit may be a television set, a radio, a computer, or a host of other devices. Let's have a television set (since the program is a film) and have the film shown on home television. The program filmed in a local community can, technically and theoretically, be sent directly literally thousands of miles in very little time to another locale, and/or it can be stored for a later showing. Suppose we want some feedback, immediately or later. At the receiving end we could have a teletype writer, on which a message is written and transmitted via the same or another system. On our end we have a device which captures the message on microfilm. We then put it on the screen and read the praise or damnation of our filming project. Of course if we are illiterate, either functional or by choice (i.e. we don't like to read), our party at the other end can simply call long-distance by telephone and relay his/her reaction (feedback) to our artistic endeavor.

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[129] Ibid.

Of course the total possible combinations of machines, programs and man mix are infinite and beyond. But in essence the above scenario describes a telecommunications system or network. To make it "educational" its purpose(s) and/or message or content would have to be educational, however one cares to define "educational".

"Media and the Disadvantaged"

This section is intended to be brief and is to simply point out that some, maybe many, of the techniques, programs and devices discussed above have been proposed for use or are currently being used in the schooling of the so-called disadvantaged, in addition to being used in the many other sectors of the educational public.

ERIC Clearinghouse undertook a study in the summer of 1972 to "re-examine the use of media with the disadvantaged". "Disadvantaged" was defined as the "culturally different" or "culturally unique" student.[130] Quite obviously we can assume that these researchers are talking about black, brown, red, yellow and poor people when we dig through the euphemisms. (It is interesting to note that to be "culturally different" or "unique" is to possess a "disadvantage".)

The study identified some 103 projects which used in the educational diet of the "disadvantaged" media and technology, which were defined as "including devices and materials especially adapted to a particular school but which could be used in other situations as well".[131] Some thirty state superintendents of education responded to a letter of inquiry requesting information on programs of this type of their states.

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[130] "Media and the Disadvantaged: Instructional Technology as the Equalizer for Disadvantaged Students", ERIC Clearinghouse on Media and Technology, Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching, Stanford University, Spring, 1973, p. 1.

In addition to these local programs a number of commercial and large scale programs are in use in school districts where "low-income/minority" students reside. Many of these programs are funded by various offices of the federal government and through the various Titles of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, and some were experimental programs (such as performance-contracting, which relied heavily on certain educational technologies) funded by the former Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). Other programs are supported by state and local resources. The technologies used vary from conventional audio-visual materials to computerized instructional systems, with closed-circuit television, video equipment and materials, photography, and others being included.

Problems and Issues in the Use of Technology in Education, with Particular Reference to Black Americans

One can imagine the scope, complexity and magnitude of the problems and issues that are incurred or that will be posed in the implementation of a large-scale educational telecommunications technology network. They entail political, legal, social, ethical, moral, economic, professional, theoretical, pedagogical and philosophical concerns, and others not yet foreseen. A number of observers have noted some of the salient issues--present and future--in employing the devices and programs in the education of anybody.[132]

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[131] *Ibid.*, 1973, p. 1.

- Teacher resistance and fear of job loss of machines and para-professionals;
- this field is capital-intensive, and start-up costs are high;
- also capital or hardware purchased one year may be obsolete the next because of rapid technological developments, thus requiring additional capital investment for new or improved systems;
- inconclusive research and evaluation on the effectiveness and/or superiority of the technologies over conventional instructional methods;
- with the hardware there are serious problems of debugging, a low reliability, high maintenance, and incompatibility among systems due to lack of industry-wide standarization;
- "software" is not up to par with the hardware;
- the various systems come under the jurisdiction of different governmental units and regulatory agencies; e.g., cable television is subject to regulation by local and state governments and the Federal Communications Commission (it may also be considered as a public utility), while satellites are regulated by FCC, and if telephone coaxial

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[132] James Koerner, "Educational Technology: Does It Have a Future in the Classroom?" Saturday Review in Education, Vol. 1, No. 4 (May 1973), pp. 43-46. Armsey and Dahl, An Inquiry into the Uses of Instructional Technology, pp. 7-18; Ralph Lee Smith, "Introduction", Telecommunications and Education, Deborah J. Black well, Abt Associates Inc. report, contract #HEW-OS-73-201, pp. 7-11; inter alia.

cables are used, the telephone company is subject to the control of state public service commissions;

- many school districts and institutions view the technology as "add on cost" and not as a priority item, thus additional funds have to be sought to pay for it as opposed to using existing resources;
- there are the issues of privacy and the informed consent of the individual to have data stored on him, used and transmitted, or, maybe, even to have his/her picture taken;
- copyright laws do not take into consideration transmission of data, literary, creative and published materials and program via these media;
- a very serious issue is that of the dehumanizing and impersonal aspects of machine instruction, evaluation and interaction of and with human beings;
- the most important drawback is that we as educators know almost nothing about the nature of the learning and teaching process; i.e., we do not know how and when learning occurs.

Some other problems, issues and concerns are sure to arise in the utilization of these various technologies as socializing and information disseminating agents of the general educational public. For Blacks and other alienated groups in society these technologies pose additional concerns.

We have already made the point that the introduction of technological innovation into society affects society by altering its organized forms of behavior, as represented by its institutions. Even a highly technological and cybernetic society like the United States undergoes social disorganization as a result of the sudden and rapid introduction of new technologies. The case for this claim is very adequately and convincingly documented by Alvin Toffler's Future Shock. Within this society, certain groups and certain institutions are more susceptible to these technologically induced changes and social disorganizations than others. Groups who are the "recipients" of the technology and institutions not normally exposed to a high level of capital (machine) domination are as prone to be victims of technology as they are to be beneficiaries of it. Those groups and institutions can be liken to societies that are less technologized, industralized, and urbanized They encounter greater social or cultural disruptions when new and foreign innovations are suddenly thrust upon them. George M. Foster addresses himself to this phenomenon; he writes;

> Technological development is a complex process; imperfectly understood even by specialists. The expression itself is misleading for, strictly speaking, there can be no such thing as technological development in isolation. Perhaps the use of the term sociotechnological development would clarify our thinking, for development is much more than overt acceptance of material and technical improvements. It is a cultural, social, and psychological process as well. Associated with every technical and material change there is a corresponding change in the attitudes, the thoughts, the values, the beliefs, and the behavior of the people who are affected by the material change. These nonmaterial changes are more subtle. Often they are overlooked or their significance is underestimated. Yet the eventual affect of a matter or social improvement is determined by the extent to which the other aspects of culture affected by it can alter their forms with a minimum of disruption.[133]

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[133] Cited in W. K. Richmond, Concept of Educational Technology, p. 23.

Groups, such as minorities in this country, which do not share the same value orientation as "mainstream America", may very well find themselves in a domestic colonial situation vis-a-vis the imposition and application of a given technology on and to their traditional life styles and its eventual effects on these life styles. While the analogy of a colonial situation for U.S. minority groups is somewhat imperfect, as analogies are prone to be, because of the fact that these groups are subjected to much greater technological exposure than so-called developing societies, it holds when considering that an inherent cultural biasness exist in technology and its development. Most technologies in this country are created by middle- and upper-class Wasp dominated and oriented institutions to meet the needs of these institutions and their constituencies. Even in the "sciences", cultural pluralism and objectivity are lacking.[134] Given the lack of cultural representativeness in the "sciences" and in the theoretical constructs upon which "scientific principles" are based and derived, the observations of H. Max Drake are particularly relevant. Drake, a sociologist, shares this view of the epistemological inapplicability of one technique or methodology in a morphologically differing society (culture). Drake maintains "in terms of ethnoscience we must not confuse Western emic analysis (description of cultural-behavioral systems in the culture's own terms) with etic analysis (description of relatively culture-free characteristics of the 'real' world)."[135]

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[134] See Gunnar Myrdal, Objectivity in Social Science Research (New York: Pantheon Books, 1969); Joyce A. Ladner (ed.), The Death of White Sociology (New York: Vintage Books, 1973); among others for a critique of the "value-free science" thesis.

One black observer and expert in the field of communications technology says this about one technology:

> In terms of implications for black people and black communities, cable television has a negative potential. It can be used as an effective instrument for the continued economic exploitation of the ghettos by absentee owners. It can eliminate jobs for black teachers, postal workers, and social workers based on non-blacks cost-benefit studies that justify the use of cable systems to deliver public services. It can be used to expand and refine electronic surveillance. It can be used to carry out even more repugnanat genocidal social policies than sterilization.[136]

The neutrality of educational technology can be seen by the fact that advocates of any of the approaches described in Chapter 4 can utilize it to carry out their philosophies and programs. The major concern with educational technology used in the education of Blacks is that if it is used with some of the programs discussed earlier the real dangers, dysfunctionalities, atypicalities, and negative consequences of these programs may be hidden behind and clouded by the use of "miracle" apparatuses. Also many other serious issues involved with the uses of these devices and materials may go unrecognized as the attention is focused on minor questions and issues, e.g. what technology or network to employ, is technology good or bad, etc.

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[135] "Research Method or Cultural Bound Technique? Pitfall of Survey Research in Africa", in O'Barr et at. (ed.), Survey Research in Africa (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1973) p. 59.

[136] Charles Tate, "Cable TV: Implications for Black Communities", Urban League News, Vol. 3, No. 6, September 4, 1973, reprint, (n.p.).

To what extent the larger black population share these views and concerns are explored in the next two chapters. As to how to utilize and to maximize the potentials of these technologies while minimizing the negative impacts and implications, these points are discussed in Chapter 10. Conclusions are drawn in Chapter 11.

Chapter 8

BLACK EDUCATION AND TECHNOLOGY: THE LITERATURE, CONFERENCES, AND SELECTED PROJECTS AND INSTITUTIONS

Literature Search as a Methodology

A review of the literature in scientific investigations usually is performed in order to place a particular study in the context of previous and current investigations on the same or related topic(s). For many formal pieces of academic work such as theses or dissertations a "literature review" is many times an academic formality included to meet the exigencies of this convention.

For our purposes a critical, analytical, and systematic search of the pertinent literature serves as a means of responding to the research questions raised in Chapter One; that is, it is a methodology. It can be considered a part of the research process called "descriptive research"[137] or "descriptive-theoretical"[138] research.

To ascertain the general level of conscious and overt awareness of and concern about the implications of the utilization of communications technology and media for educational purposes held by those Blacks instrumental in policy-making and/or in the socialization processes of black children, a search of the literature on black socialization was undertaken. In addition, various conferences, workshops and seminars on the black child, on the education of Afro-Americans and on matters of dealing with the preparation of black folk for life in this society were monitored by way of conference proceedings and literature notes taken by this author at some of these conferences, and through tape recordings. Some projects or institutions whose activities and whose pedagogical practices and philosophies entail the use technology are examined in a summary fashion to provide additional insight into this matter.

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[137] See Ted DeVries, "Descriptive Research and Problem Solving", in Ralph H. Jones (ed.), Methods and Techniques of Educational Research (Danville, Illinois: The Interstate Printers and Publishers, Inc., 1973), pp. 99-107.

[138] George W. Fairweather, Methods for Experimental Social Innovation (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967), pp. 21-22.

The research issue raised in the beginning of this work focused on the question of black awareness of telecommunications media and technology as tools and/or alternatives in the educational socialization processes of black people. An examination of the sort carried out in this chapter gives us some notion of the way national, regional and local groups of Blacks are perceiving or not perceiving this issue. Another methodological approach is employed in the next chapter toward the same research problem.

In selecting works to be examined the following criteria were used:

- Those works by Blacks that are considered major works on the education or socialization of Blacks; usually they have been widely and critically reviewed in major journals (black and white) and/or they are used as textbooks in education, sociology, Black Studies, psychology, counseling, social work, etc. courses.
- Those journals or periodicals published by Blacks about Blacks enjoying circulation in black intellectual circles and in the black community;
- Moreover, the literature, conferences, projects, etc. that are mentioned here are recent. They are mostly of the 1968-1974 era, but not limited to this period.

Before proceeding with the analysis, a word of reserve is in order. There is no attempt to "put down" authors or groups whose works appear below. In assessing their works against the question of their explicit recognition of the dynamics of technology and media in the socialization of Afro-Americans, I am very much aware of the fact that many times individual persons or groups were addressing themselves to issues not necessarily related to technological matters. Nor do I wish the impression left that these works are that much less or more valuable because of exclusion or inclusion of discussion of telecommunications technology. Many of these works are valuable and contributing in their own rights.

The Literature

Looking first at the literature on the education of Blacks, published and/or written by black organizations or individuals, one discovers a woeful lack or only a scant treatment of the use of technology in black education. In a recent book edited by Nathan Wright[139], with twenty-five (25) educators writing a total of thirty-five (35) articles, amounting to almost 300 pages, not one of the articles addressed itself to the topic of technology as its main focus. Only one author, M. Lee Montgomery gave recognition to the fact that technology is in the schools at the present time, that the communications media have a great impact on the minds of black people and that a technological society requires certain types of skills to survive and achieve in it. However, in his articles ("Our Changing Schools and Community", and "Community Building and Learning Centers") these points are made in passing and do not receive extensive attention. This book is cited because it is one of the first attempts to present to a wide, public, panorama view and statement on black education. Dr. Wright, in his foreword, says, "In these essays, some of the nation's leading black educators speak to the urgent need for humanizing the nation's schools" (emphasis mine). If these "prominent" black educators failed to include the topic of technology in their agenda of proposals and plans for humanizing and making education relevant for Blacks, does this indicate a feeling that technology has no role to play in this humanization process? This is a very difficult question to answer. (Indeed, it is a hard one to pose.) It is hard to infer reasons for this omission. Perhaps it is considered as a given that educational technologies will be used or that they should be used. Or perhaps since the development of educational technologies is not in the purview of traditional educators (white, black, or indifferent), and since there is not much advocacy for the use of electronic technological devices for educational purposes by educators (again, black, white, or indifferent), therefore, one can expect them not to speak about them in their considerations. It must be pointed out, however, that several of the contributors did allude to the use of some sort of technology by implication of some of their recommendations or analyses; for example, in stressing the need for more individualized, self-paced instruction, there is the implied assumption that this could possibly occur with the employment of learning machines.

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[139] What Black Educators Are Saying, (New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., 1970).

Another work which is outstanding in its scant mention of using multi-media approaches to black education is Dr. James Banks' Teaching the Black Experience: Methods and Materials. Dr. Banks is a member of the faculty of the College of Education, at the University of Washington. He specializes in social studies teaching, particularly for urban children. He frequently writes, lectures and conducts workshops on teaching the black experience, and is considered an outstanding educator. In his work, Dr. Banks devotes about three (3) pages to listing "audio-visual aids, including pictures, murals, posters, multi-media kits, records, and filmstrips". He acknowledges that his list is not exhaustive.

But it is important to note that technologies such as computers, satellites, radio, television, video equipment, cable television, etc. are not mentioned. Programming for such media is also, obviously, not discussed.

Another work which has received widespread attention is Thomas Sowell's Black Education: Myths and Tragedies. A trained economist turned educational commentator, Sowell takes pot shots at various aspects of the schooling of Blacks, and at those (black and white) who are involved with and/or responsible for it. His book is widely acclaimed (by the white press) and, unfortunately, contains many myths, tragedies, and errors of its own. While Sowell has commented on and criticized many of the recent developments in the education of Blacks (integration, community control, the voucher system, performance contracting, Black Studies, compensatory education programs, etc.), his discussion does not include the subject of technology as a factor to be contended with in the schooling and education of Blacks.

Allen B. Ballard, author of The Education of Blacks, documents the politics of black higher education on white campuses and the failure of these institutions to respond meaningfully to the needs of black students. Technology as it relates to education is not part of his discussion.

Teaching Black by the Multi-Ethnic Education Resources Center of the African and Afro-American Studies Program, Stanford University is an evaluation and recommendation of curricular packages and materials relating to the black experience. The project staff notes that in some packages multi-media materials are employed, usually of the audio-visual type. In their recommended "audio-visual supplements", they advise the watching of the Public Broadcasting Laboratories' "Black Journal", a monthly black television show. They devote slightly more than a page to this section and all the other references are to 16mm films.

Staten W. Webster's The Education of Black Americans deals with an overview of Black Americans' status historically and contemporaneously in America and with the problems of black children with and in the public schools. He ends by proposing a set of solutions to these conditions. Nowhere in his discussion does he treat the issue of technology as a factor to be considered in the education of Blacks.

Black Manifesto for Education is edited by Jim Haskins. Ten articles by ten authors (including one by the editor) constitute this book. Its major emphases are urban education and higher education, as the two relate to Blacks. Of the ten authors only one, Alma S. Freeman, in her article "Curriculum Changes for Freshman English Programs in the Black College", addresses herself to educational technology. Ms. Freeman endorses the use of "audiovisual media--cartoons, records, film and filmstrips, tapes, photographs, theater and movie trips" in freshman English programs for black students at black colleges. Mention of the more sophisticated technologies is not made.

Charles G. Hurst, former president of Malcolm X College in Chicago, has a book entitled Passport to Freedom in which he expounds upon the problems of black education and espouses solutions. Throughout his text Dr. Hurst makes reference to the role of multi-media and telecommunications technology in education. This is not unexpected because the book draws heavily upon Dr. Hurst's experiences at Malcolm X. At Malcolm X a number of innovative and unconventional programs have been implemented. Among these are a learning resource laboratory and a computer terminal connected to the University of Illinois' PLATO system, both designed to give the students individualized instruction and tutorial assistance.

One book, a notable exception to the vast body of literature, is devoted to multi-media materials in the teaching of the black experience. It is appropriately entitled Multimedia Materials for Afro-American Studies. Its editor and compiler is Dr. Harry Alleyn Johnson of Virginia State College. It consists of two parts, the first a collection of essays by Dr. Johnson, a sociologist--Dr. Jacquelyne Jackson, an educator--Dr. Deborah Wolfe, and a historian--Dr. Charles Wesley. Dr. Johnson's essay is the only one that actually focuses on technology and media in relation to the education of Blacks. However, in his article he repeats wholeheartedly the popular misconceptions of the cult of cultural deprivation and the jensenists. He discusses the educational uses of technology and the media in these veins. The second part of this book is a compilation of non-print materials on the African and Afro-American experience. The materials are in the form of films (16mm and 8mm), audiotapes, filmstrips (silent and sound), multimedia kits, recordings (discs), slides, study prints, pictures, posters, graphics, transparencies, video tapes, telecourses, kinescopes and paperback books. This work contains a large number of annotated references to the black experience in non-print and print resources. The two sections of the book dealing with them are comprised of 228 pages of references, with a directory of producers and distributors of these materials.

Before turning to periodicals and journals, it should be noted that a number of recent works by black psychologists, sociologists and social workers dealing with black family life and black youth also are without significant discussion of the impingement of technology on the socialization of Afro-Americans.[140]

Black Scholar devoted its June, 1974 issue to the "Black Family". In two of the articles discussion or reference was made to the influence of science and technology on black life. Ronald Walters concludes a two-part series on

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[140] The following works were among those consulted: Andrew Billingsley, Black Families in White America; Robert B. Hill, The Strengths of Black Families, Reginald L. Jones (ed.), Black Psychology; Joyce A. Ladner, Tomorrow's Tomorrow; and Robert Staples (ed.), The Black Family. (Full bibliographic reference for these works can be found in the Bibliography.)

"Population Control and the Black Community" in which he discusses the implications and concerns of the social engineering practice known as "birth control", "population control", "planned parenthood", etc. for black people. However, the impact of this movement on black life styles, value systems, transmittal processes, etc. is not discussed. Wade Nobles, in his article "Africanity: Its Role in Black Families", makes a short reference to the fact that "technical society" has played a role in reshaping aspects of black traditional and formal institutional life.

The School Review, an educational journal of the University of Chicago, dedicated its May, 1973 issue to "The Future of Education for Black Americans". It contained sixteen articles by eighteen authors, presumably all or mostly black. The guest editor, Edgar G. Epps, in his lead article cites the miseducation of Blacks thesis, and says that this miseducation can be defined two ways: 1) in terms of the European orientation and bias of the schools and, 2) "through the failure of the schools to prepare blacks for successful competition in an urbanized technological society".[141] Nonetheless, even with this recognition, the articles reflect his first interpretation of black miseducation. Only one author deals with the second perspective to any extent. Barbara Sizemore points out, in discussing

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[141] "Education for Black Americans: Outlook for the Future", School Review, vol. 81, no. 3 (May 1973), p. 328.

"Education for Liberation", that certain social and technical skills and information need to be acquired by Blacks, although she does not say how these skills will be acquired (that is, by what means and approaches).

In another recent work in which a number of national, leading black educators have undertaken the task of responding to the "imperatives in ethnic minority education"[142] nowhere is it to be found a discussion of education for living in a technological oriented society or of the need for considering the uses (actual and potential) of communications technology in black education. The May-June, 1973 issue of _Black Scholar_, called by some the leading black nationalist intellectual magazine, was devoted to the "Black Child". Again, in this periodical no significant discussion occurred on technology and black education.

Ebony devoted its 1974 August special issue to the "Black Child". In it, a number of articles appeared that recognized the importance of media in influencing the life of black youth. Children themselves were quite aware of the prominence that television, for instance, had in their lives. In responding to the question, "What's Wrong with Adults?", some children replied that their parents did not allow them complete freedom in watching television, and saw this as a problem with adults.

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[142] _Phi Delta Kappan_, vol. LIII, no. 5 (January 1972).

In the September, 1974 issue of Encore a special report on "The Mood of Black Youths" by Ronald Walters indicates that many black youth are aware of the "power of the press", that is they see the media as a viable tool in social change. Walters reports that 11.5 percent of his respondents (survey sample reported to be about 150) selected the communications media as their career choice, which made this the second most chosen field of the respondents. Less than fifteen percent were in the technically oriented fields of medicine, biology, dentistry, nursing, and computer programming.

A periodical devoted specifically to the education of Blacks, The Journal of Negro Education, was examined systematically to ascertain the extent of awareness of and concern with the relationship between black education and technology. For the purposes addressed here, only the issues published between 1963 and 1973 inclusive, are reported on. It is during this period that educational technology enjoyed its greatest growth in terms of widespread development and application of a number of new (and old) mechanical and electronic devices for communication and educational purposes.

Table III presents the results. In the 1964 volume (issue number 1) an article did appear on films and filmstrips for educational purposes.[143] The author recognizes the importance of these media in combatting stereotypic views

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[143] Carolyn A. Redden, "An Annotated List of Educational Films and Filmstrips", pp. 79-82.

TABLE III

Journal of Negro Education Articles Devoted to or Containing Extensive References to Educational Technology or the Communications Media, 1963-1973

Year	1963			
Volume	XXXII			
Issue Number	1	2	3	4
Total Number of Articles and Editorial	11	12	11	18
References to Technology/Media	0	0	0	0
Extent of Discussion on Technology/Media*				
Author				
Title				
Pages				

* Three categories are used: Great, Moderate and Low.

TABLE III (cont.)

Journal of Negro Education Articles Devoted to or Containing Extensive References to Educational Technology or the Communications Media, 1963-1973

Year	1964			
Volume	XXXIII			
Issue Number	1	2	3	4
Total Number of Articles and Editorial	11	14	17	11
References to Technology/Media	1	0	0	0
Extent of Discussion on Technology/Media*	Great			
Author	Carolyn A. Redden			
Title	"An Annotated List of Educational Films and Filmstrips"			
Pages	79-82			

* Three categories are used: Great, Moderate and Low.

TABLE III (cont.)

Journal of Negro Education Articles Devoted to or Containing Extensive References to Educational Technology or the Communications Media, 1963-1973

Year	1965			
Volume	XXXIV			
Issue Number	1	2	3	4
Total Number of Articles and Editorial	15	14	16	13
References to Technology/Media	0	0	0	0
Extent of Discussion on Technology/Media*				
Author				
Title				
Pages				

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* Three categories are used: Great, Moderate and Low.

TABLE III (cont.)

Journal of Negro Education Articles Devoted to or Containing Extensive References to Educational Technology or the Communications Media, 1963-1973

Year	1966			
Volume	XXXV			
Issue Number	1	2	3	4
Total Number of Articles and Editorial	16	14	13	23
References to Technology/Media	0	1	1	0
Extent of Discussion on Technology/Media*		Low	Great	
Author		Arnold B. Cheyney	Beulah E. Brown	
Title		"Curricular Methods Used by Outstanding Teachers of Culturally Disadvantaged Elementary School Children"	"Learning Is Fun with a Dictaphone Electronic Classroom"-A Discussion	
Pages		174-177	246-251	

* Three categories are used: Great, Moderate and Low.

TABLE III (cont.)

Journal of Negro Education Articles Devoted to or Containing Extensive References to Educational Technology or the Communications Media, 1963-1973

Year	1967			
Volume	XXXVI			
Issue Number	1	2	3	4
Total Number of Articles and Editorial	12	14	18	11
References to Technology/Media	0	0	0	0
Extent of Discussion on* Technology/Media				
Author				
Title				
Pages				

* Three categories are used: Great, Moderate and Low.

TABLE III (cont.)

Journal of Negro Education Articles Devoted to or Containing Extensive References to Educational Technology or the Communications Media, 1963-1973

Year	1968			
Volume	XXXVII			
Issue Number	1	2	3	4
Total Number of Articles and Editorial	14	13	18	13
References to Technology/Media	0	0	0	0
Extent of Discussion on Technology/Media*				
Author				
Title				
Pages				

*Three categories are used: Great, Moderate and Low

TABLE III (cont.)

Journal of Negro Education Articles Devoted to or Containing Extensive References to Educational Technology or the Communications Media, 1963-1973

Year	1969			
Volume	XXXVIII			
Issue Number	1	2	3	4
Total Number of Articles and Editorial	14	14	17	17
References to Technology/Media	0	0	0	0
Extent of Discussion on Technology/Media*				
Author				
Title				
Pages				

*Three categories are used: Great, Moderate and Low.

TABLE III (cont.)

Journal of Negro Education Articles Devoted to or Containing Extensive References to Educational Technology or the Communications Media, 1963-1973

Year	1970			
Volume	XXXIX			
Issue Number	1	2	3	4
Total Number of Articles and Editorial	14	12	9	14
References to Technology/Media	0	0	0	0
Extent of Discussion on Technology/Media*				
Author				
Title				
Pages				

*Three categories are used: Great, Moderate and Low.

TABLE III (cont.)

Journal of Negro Education Articles Devoted to or Containing Extensive References to Educational Technology or the Communications Media, 1963-1973

Year	1971			
Volume	XXXX			
Issue Number	1	2	3	4
Total Number of Articles and Editorial	15	13	14	13
References to Technology/Media	0**	0	0	1
Extent of Discussion on Technology/Media*				Low
Author				H.A.Goodstein
Title				"The Use of Structure Curriculum with Black Preschool Disadvantaged Children"
Pages				330-336

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*Three categories are used: Great, Moderate and Low.

**This issue contains a book review of a work that deals partially with the use of media as an educational tool, see pp. 99-100.

TABLE III (cont.)

Journal of Negro Education Articles Devoted to or Containing Extensive References to Educational Technology or the Communications Media, 1963-1973

Year	1972			
Volume	XLI			
Issue Number	1	2	3	4
Total Number of Articles and ✓ Editorial	12	10	11	15
References to Technology/Media	0	0	0	0
Extent of Discussion on Technology/Media*				
Author				
Title				
Pages				

*Three categories are used: Great, Moderate and Low.

TABLE III (cont.)

Journal of Negro Education Articles Devoted to or Containing Extensive References to Educational Technology or the Communications Media, 1963-1973

Year	1973***			
Volume	XLII			
Issue Number	1	2	3	4
Total Number of Articles of Editorial	13	13	missing	10
References to Technology/Media	0	0	?	0
Extent of Discussion on Technology/Media*				
Author				
Title				
Pages				

*Three categories are used: Great, Moderate and Low

***A "Multi-Media Reviews" section has been added beginning with this volume.

held by whites about Blacks. In the 1966 volume two articles appear discussing or mentioning media and or technology as an educational device. Arnold B. Cheyney[144] mentions the use of educational technology ("films, filmstrips, television, etc.") in his discussion of a study in which "outstanding" elementary teachers of the "culturally disadvantaged" are studied for the curricular methods they employ. In the same 1966 volume, in issue number 3, Beulah E. Brown[145] enthusiastically lauds a teaching device called the Dictaphone Electronic Classroom and acknowledges the importance of using technological devices in learning situations in an automated, technological, cybernetic society. She also enumerates positive effects this particular device had on children's behavior and attitudes in the classroom and in the school.

The next article that makes a significant reference to educational technology is one by H. A. Goodstein[146], who reports a study using a "structured curriculum" with black, so-called disadvantaged preschool children. Part of this curriculum included cameras, tape recorders and other non-print materials. He also suggests computer utilization for continuous assessment of pupil progress as an alternative way of evaluating a proposed curriculum. His mention of technology is, in essence, a passing reference.

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[144] "Curricular Methods Used by Outstanding Teachers of Culturally Disadvantaged Elementary School Children", Journal of Negro Education, vol. xxxv, no. 2, pp. 174-177.

[145] "'Learning is Fun' with the Dictaphone Electronic Classroom--A Discussion", pp. 246-251.

[146] "The Use of a Structured Curriculum with Black Preschool Disadvantaged Children", Journal of Negro Education, vol. XL, no. 4, pp. 330-336.

Thus, out of some 600 articles only four were found to have some meaningful reference to education and technology. There was one book review of a work which dealt in part with the media. As noted in Table III the 1973 volume does contain a feature entitled "Multi-Media Reviews", which, to date, reviews films, recordings and similar media that portray the black experience. Of the four articles only two treat the topic with any depth. Also, it is not possible to ascertain the ethnicity of the authors, so we can not say that all four were Black.

Surveying many other books and periodicals the same results are encountered. Going through back issues of such popular black magazines as Ebony, Jet, Black World, Essence, Freedomways, Proud, Encore and other black scholarly and lay publications very little that viewed technology as a viable concern of black educators, parents and political and social leaders could be found.[147] The Black Scholar, however, has devoted issues to "Black Science", "Black Health", and "Black Media".

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[147] The notable exceptions to this statement are the issues of those magazines referenced in footnote 103 which deal with Blacks and the media specifically, along with occasional articles in Black World.

On the other hand, one finds in the writing of groups and individuals espousing a Pan-Africanist philosophy* a very explicit treatment of the need for Blacks to acquire technical training is directly related to the needs of black communities and societies throughout the world as perceived by Pan-Africanists. They view technology as one means of achieving self-reliance in political, economic and cultural matters. A spokesman for the Federation of Pan-African Educational Institutions, Leon Moore, underscores this point:

> 'As a people', Brother Moore states, 'we've lost the basic things we need to survive. For instance, we don't know how to farm anymore... as a people we've become very dependent upon white people for everything basic to our survival--turning on a sink for water, going to the store for food and things, and like that.'
>
> He further adds, 'we believe that we can provide some of the basic needs for African people all over the world. We can began to export qualified teachers and technicians, scientists, engineers, or whatever is needed by any African nation anywhere in the world as well as in the Black communities in this country'.[148]

This belief in self-reliance, partly through technical competency and partly through political action, is translated into curriculum offerings in the schools that constitute the Federation. A brief survey of these institutions and a description of the curriculum brings this fact home.

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*Pan-Africanism has many different interpretations, and therefore, will not be defined definitively in this paper. Broadly speaking, the philosophy of Pan-Africanism states that because of historical circumstance and because of the present and past political, economic and cultural subjugation, people of African backgrounds, wherever they are, have a common and collective destiny.

[148] The Birth of a Pan-African School System", Imani, August/September, 1971, p. 40.

The Center for Black Education located in Washington, D.C. has its program described:

> Their students do not necessarily come from the immediate D.C. area but from various Black communities in the United States. The ages of their students range from eighteen on up and the emphasis is on technological skills.
>
> Part of the basics which everyone must learn are how to lay bricks, use saws and hammers, and plant food. Other skills are in nursing, pharmacy, electrical work, plumbing, carpentry and construction.
>
> A team of students from the Center renovate buildings in the D.C. area and sometimes erect small structures, such as garages.
>
> They also emphasize skills such as these dealing with communication: photography--learning to use cameras, and developing and printing film; newspapers--how to write stories, gather information and do lay-out for their weekly publication known as "The Pan-African"; radio-writing radio copy and putting together radio programs for their weekly broadcast on WOLAM in Washington.[149]

(This Center is no longer in operation.)

In Milwaukee the Clifford McKissick Community School has a similar curriculum:

> Realizing that we as a people need technicians in scientific areas, another fundamental part of the curriculum includes general mathematics and algebra, chemistry, food science and machine skills. The machine skills class is presently teaching the students to master offset printing. CMCS also produces a radio program

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[149] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

> "Arifu" (Swahili for inform) to reach the Milwaukee Black Community. The slogan of Clifford McKissick Community School is "to build to work".[150]

Atlanta, Georgia has the Pan-African Work Center, its program is as follows:

> The ages of the students at the Pan-African Work Center range from three years to fourteen years old. The staff there has developed its own books and a monthly reader, which includes articles, stories, puzzles, math problems, and a pen pal section.
>
> Both the readers and the books are designed to follow the curriculum outline, a ten-month based program divided into five two-month periods. The first is pre-colonial Africa, then slavery, colonialism, neo-colonialism and finally Pan-Africanism. Other courses include communications, mathematics, languages (French, Spanish and Ki-Swahili) and history/geography. Also offered are skill oriented subjects like electronics, carpentry, food preparation, first-aid and farming. Karate is taught to develop physical as well as mental astuteness.
>
> Recently the Pan-African Work Center has begun to try and institute a program of "urban farm cooperatives" wherein the members of a community each raise different crops in their back yards and exchange their goods.[151]

Another organization which stresses the importance of technological training in its educational program is the Nation of Islam, commonly referred to as the Black Muslims. By far the most avid and most successful advocates of technological training, this organization is also the most complete. Not only do they train people in technical skills, but the training programs and the Universities of Islam also make use of the most modern and up-to-date techniques and equipment available. At these learning centers, the Muslims report that Blacks "receive intensive training in the major technological fields, mathematics, medicine, agriculture, engineering and a number of other related fields..."[152] The scope and success of their efforts are reflected in this passage:

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[150] *Ibid*., p. 44.

[151] *Ibid*.

> Technology is an important part of 'Nation Time'. Messenger Muhammad has taken unskilled Black men and women who had the aptitude to learn and trained them in skilled professions involved in the production of Muhammad Speaks Newspaper--an offset printing job comparable to all others in the profession.
>
> Black pilots and airplane mechanics busy themselves in our Aviation section, though limited to a jet, it is growing. The Nation of Islam has a fleet of trucks owned, operated and repaired by Blacks carrying commodities produced by Blacks.
>
> The Nation presently has skilled forced, busy at the work of building a Nation, construction engineer's (sic), proven in their fields, doctors of medicine, mathematicians, chemist, Doctors of Orthodonics, communications experts, well trained and versed in radio and TV operations, plus computer programmers, operators and repairmen all trained through Messenger Muhammad's efforts to fulfill the Nation's needs.[153]

While their successful efforts go unheralded and unpublicized in the larger society, the Muslims are truly evolving a complex model of black education, utilizing and recognizing the need for technology, not only for achieving their political, social and economic ends, but also as viable teaching and communications media.

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[152] Muhammad Speaks, Special Issue, p. 20, (n.d.).

[153] Ibid., p. 12.

Other institutions placing a great deal of emphasis on technological training, especially in communications, are Malcolm X Liberation University of Greensboro, North Carolina and the Committee for a Unified Newark, which has television studios where members get practical training in the skills of video-tape production and other types of media. These institutions also operate under a Pan-Africanist banner. In addition to these, many other Pan-Africanist organizations and publications place heavy and continual emphasis on acquisition of technical skills and know-how by Blacks and an increased awareness of the impact of technology.[154]

In black institutions of higher education, other uses of technological devices as part of the curriculum are found. Many of these schools have "learning resource centers", which include audio-visual devices, self-paced and individualized learning materials, and other "hardware" and "software". Technological training is available to many black students in the engineering, agriculture, medical and dental schools of these institutions. Some schools, like Howard University, have schools or departments of communications and journalism. Malcolm X College in Chicago has a computer-based instructional system, the PLATO program, which operates in conjunction with the University of Illinois, and under the sponsorship of the National Science Foundation. This community college also has a "TV College". Courses for credit are broadcast over television. The Black Educators Council for Human Services, an organization representing several black colleges, regularly monitors federal agencies so as to collect and disseminate pertinent information to its members, has noted that Congress had established a new agency that may be of assistance to small schools by providing supplemental information systems. The BECHS's newsletter recognizes the significance of this action:

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[154] For an extended discussion of Pan-African educational methodology, philosophy, and pedagogy see Lonneta Gaines, Working Paper for the Learning House: A Pan-African Preschool (Baltimore: Liberation House Press, 1970); and Afrikan Free School, Inc., Education Text (NewArk, New Jersey: Jihad Publishing Co., 1974).

> Congress has recently established a National Commission on Libraries and Information Science. This commission is exploring some long-range plans under which modern communications and computer technology could be used to provide an efficient and inexpensive means of backing up the basic collections of all libraries. It is quite likely that a major technological breakthrough will occur before the end of the decade.
>
> This means relatively small schools can have access to one of the most powerful computation systems in the country and the various institutions share the cost of operating the center.[155]

The involvement of black colleges and universities in this and other similar systems will give them much greater flexibility in providing opportunities for their students to interact with important technologies that will affect their lives.

The formal and highly organized provision of technical assistance by TACTICS extends the ability of black colleges to benefit from a variety of technical services and programs. TACTICS (Technical Assistance Consortium To Improve College Services) consists of several agencies that provide to black institutions of higher education a multitude of services and programs ranging from computerized information systems to faculty and administration development to library administration and development, and planning and designing an educational technology component for black college's libraries.[156] A number of systems analysis techniques and approaches are used (PERT/CPM, PPBES, etc.) are employed and a host of computer-assisted services are provided.

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[155] Share, January 15, 1972, newsletter of the Black Educators Council For Human Services, North Carolina A. and T. State University, p. 26.

The survey of the literature and review of some specific institutions show that a small, but significant, group of black educators consider favorably in practice and theory, the viability of employing technology, especially communications technology in the education of Blacks. From the literature one gets the impression that the overwhelming majority of black educators, parents and leaders do not consciously or explicitly perceive educational technology as a viable alternative to the present unsatisfactory system of schooling that their children receive.

Before concluding that the majority of Blacks concerned with education are unknowledgeable of, hostile to, and/or unconcerned about the merger of technology and education, and the technological skills needed to exist in the modern world, let us examine the proceedings of a few major conferences held on the national and local levels to either support this notion, modify it or reject it.

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[156] Information on TACTICS comes from its Annual Report: 1971-72, and from other publications of this organization. Its executive office is located at 2001 S Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20009. Dr. Van S. Allen is Executive Director.

The conferences that are examined here are only a miniscule representation of the numerous conferences that Blacks have convened or participated in over the years to deal with the issue of the education and development of the black child. The five national conferences are significant in that they attracted a national cross-section of the black population, they were sponsored by influential groups (politically and/or academically) and they focused on pressing, current issues.

Several local St. Louis conferences on education hosted by community organizations concerned with the plight of the local educational system are reported on as well. (Several other conferences were to be included, but it was not possible to get copies of their proceedings in time to include them in this assessment.)

The National Policy Conference on Education for Blacks was held recently (March 29-April 1, 1972) in Washington, D.C. under the auspices of ten national organizations lead by the Congressional Black Caucus. The conference was designed to air a number of positions on the various issues "central to the fact that education for Black people in America is less than adequate and must be radically changed". The scope and significance of this conference is reflected in the words of its Project Director, Professor Bernard C. Watson, Chairman of Urban Education, Temple University:

> I believe the National Policy Conference on Education for Blacks was a landmark meeting. It brought together 722 men, women, and young adults from 35 states and the District of Columbia, covering a geographic area from Maine to California, from Florida to the State of Washington, and many points in between. Among the Conference participants were 86 students: undergraduates, graduate students, and those attending professional schools. Parents, community leaders, educators, elected officials, and others, including senior citizens, young adults, those in their middle years and youthful adolescents, were able to engage in serious and constructive dialogue about educational issues with a notable minimum of name-calling, personal vilification, and meaningless rhetoric. In short, the Conference participants concentrated on the substantive issues. In my view, this was a signal achievement at what appears to me to be a crucial point in the history of Black Americans.
>
> One could hardly question the importance of the issues highlighted during the Conference: finance; pre-school, elementary, secondary, and post-high school education; legal issues and their implications; community involvement; students' rights; desegregation; and Black-controlled schools. Inevitably, however, many important concerns were not addressed in depth; some were not considered at all. Some participants have noted that such issues as the effect of poverty on education, vouchers, teacher training, methodology, community boards, bilingual-bicultural education, youth gangs and other related organizations, and a host of others were not discussed. They were not, although almost everyone would agree that these issues are important. But it is an unfortunate reality that no conference of such short duration could provide for a discussion of all or most of these issues in depth. It is no less true, however, that other conferences, on the national as well as the state and local levels, must address these and other crucial issues in the future. It is important that such omissions and shortcomings have been identified as a direct result of this first effort. Hopefully, we shall all profit by the lessons we have learned.[157]

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[157] The Congressional Black Caucus, National Policy Conference on Education for Blacks: Proceedings, Washington, D.C., 1972, pp. 9-10.

While this conference did not include the issue of technology and education among its specified issues, it did arise over a dozen times in the deliberations and in several contexts. For example, Arthur E. Thomas, a speaker at the conference included these points in his "Strategies for Protecting Inmates":

> Black people must break the monopoly of information that school and governments hold over their children. Comic books, LP and 45 rpm records, cable television programs, films and other media must be utilized to spread the message that students do have rights and present strategies for protecting those rights.
>
> Education for democracy must be demanded. Schools must see that the world is changing so rapidly that any type of factual information they can give a child will be obsolete in a few years. An oppressed people must educate its children to find ways to combat oppression. Black people need artists and technicians who can deal with problems facing their people.[158]

At the First National Congress of Black Professionals in Higher Education, several uses of technology in the instructional process, in information sharing, collection and dissemination, and for communications purposes were advocated, even though the primary focus of the conference was on the situation of black educators in white institutions. While the discussion on the role and uses of educational technology and other technologies and related materials was not overwhelming, it arose several times in the speeches, deliberations, recommendations and the policy statements of this body. Several hundred of the leading educators in the country were in attendance at this meeting.

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[158] Ibid., pp. 89-90.

The National Conference on the Survival of Black Children and Youth, sponsored by the National Council for Black Child Development and Howard University, had at least one panelist address herself to the role of the communications media as a potential ally in the positive socialization of black children. Ms. Rheable Edwards realized that "Blacks must demand that the Mass Media change its discriminatory attitudes. It can then be utilized as a change agent."[159] Having very few direct references in the strategies, policies, and recommendations to technology and technical skills *per se*, the conference participants did by implication suggest the need for extensive communications, data storage, retrieval and dissemination and information-sharing systems. One recommendation also proposed using the National Association of Black Broadcasters as a means of transmitting news and information relevant to black child development.

The second National Seminar Series convened by the National Association of Black Adult Educators (June 5-8, 1974) had as its themes: "Education for Today and Tomorrow"; "Peoples Needs" and "Perspectives for Life-Long Learning". This triumvirate of themes did not produce any sessions, discussions, recommendations, or strategies devoted to the consideration of the communications technology and media as means for implementing the concerns and goals of this group.

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[159] Conference Summary, National Conference on the Survival of Black Children and Youth, Washington, D.C., January 25-28, 1973, p. 51.

Nor were these media and technologies viewed as concerns by the participants. One participant, a reporter, did suggest (urge) that greater use of black media people and organizations be made by groups such as these but it is not known how likely it is that this suggestion will find its way into the proceedings of this conference. At several other points during this conference references were made to communications and the media but these were not deliberated upon by the body.

Indirectly technological issues were addressed as there were sessions on family planning, vocational education, various aspects of health care and delivery, etc. The conference was significant in its attempt to broaden the perspective and definition of education and to expand it to include many aspects of the social and economic world of a person.[160]

The Black Child and His Education was the topic of a symposium held at Brown University (March 9, 1974) by the Black Students Psychological Association of Brown. Throughout this conference panelists and participants commented on various aspects of technical skills, technology/media, and the socialization of black children. One participant described the activities of a Pan-African school she was affiliated with, and they included pedagogical approaches for providing the students with mathematical and scientific skills, an awareness and appreciation of natural phenomena, proper dietary habits, etc. Several persons also mentioned the influence of television and the need to consider it as a socializing agent.[161]

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[160] Information on this conference is from notes taken at it by this author, and from conference and organizational materials.

We now turn to local conferences held in St. Louis. The Education Committee of the St. Louis Urban League along with 41 other St. Louis community organizations and agencies have sponsored a series of conferences "concerned with a Policy of Education for Blacks in Metropolitan St. Louis".[162] In the first two conferences which focused on "absenteeism" (April 13-14, June 1-2) over 100 strategies, recommendations and suggestions were made to improve the school attendance of black youth. Not one of these included use of communications media or technology. Many of the proposals did suggest use of out-of-school projects, activities and agencies to combat this "problem", but an approach employing media or technological networks was not advanced.[163] A third conference, held November 30-December 1, 1973, dealt with the theme "Education--For What?". The results of this meeting are not yet available.

At the Yeatman District Community Corporation Education Committee sponsored a seminar on "Whose Schools Are They and How Should They be Run" (October 19-20, 1973) no elaborate or extensive discussion occurred on the interface of education and technology.[164]

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[161] I am very much indebted to Brother Robert Troiano of Brown University for permitting me to have the taped recordings of this symposium.

[162] Conference announcement.

[163] Urban League of St. Louis, "A Report on the First and Second in a Series of Conferences Concerned with a Policy of Education for Blacks in Metropolitan St. Louis, (n.d.).

From the proceedings of these conferences it can be discerned that technology, particularly communications technology, is perceived, at least, by some black professionals as being important and viable for the well-being of Blacks, provided Blacks control the technology. On the other hand, the local conferences assessed do not speak to the issue of technological training and the utilization of technology in the education of Blacks, even though these conferences were concerned with black education.

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[164] This author served as a panelist and participant at this seminar.

Summary

This limited assessment of several black educational conferences, along with the extensive literature review suggest that Blacks of diverse ideological persuasions and backgrounds advocate the use of technology in black education, but not necessarily for the same reasons. Further, certain characteristics of the advocates can be identified (these are spelled out below). However, while some groups of Blacks advocate the utilization of and training in technology, many, if not most Blacks seem to be indifferent, ignorant and/or hostile to technology in education. Exact reasons for this state of affairs are not possible to state at this time, but possible explanations for these attitudes have been suggested throughout this work. Many alternative plans compete for public attention and most often Blacks do not get wind of them until they are off the drawing board and are ready to be test-runned (usually on poor, black and/or other minority children--the Native Americans, Chicanos, etc.) Many black teachers and administrators share the hostile attitude of their white counterparts vis-a-vis educational technologies (and many of the other proposals for educational change). They feel threatened, they share the fear that machines may take over their jobs, or that they will be subjected to closer supervision and held accountable for their and their students' performance or non-performance. Further, practitioners are often the last to know of developments in their profession, especially when they occur outside of the field as in the cases of educational technologies and scientific management. And some just fundamentally believe in the old-fasioned, one-room school house approach to education, which has its virtues. Also, most black educators are in formal school systems, which respond very slowly, for a number of reasons to change especially change that costs money, creates conflict, and that has the potential for basically restructuring the systems themselves.

The least likely reason for these sentiments is a lack of concern on the part of Blacks about their children's education. It is quite evident, by their adamant demands for change, that Blacks are very concerned about their children's future. Unfortunately, many do not seem to recognize the need to consider technology as an inevitable and imposing force that all people will have to eventually deal with in the very near future.

Those Blacks who are most conscious and aware of the power of telecommunications technology and media are mainly of two basic types: one, Pan-Africanists, Nationalists, or of some other type of political activist orientation; the other type is black educators and students in (black) higher education. The two types are not at all mutually exclusive. Some people may possess both types of characteristics, and many do. Persons in these two categories have mutual concerns. First, they are anxious to be about the business of institution building; and secondly, they are aware of the fact that technical know-how has served as an oppressing force in academic, political, economic, social and cultural aspects of black life. They see the need to fight fire with fire. They definitely see education and technology, separately and jointly, as means to achieve certain ends.

Another group which seems to be even smaller in number than the others are some of those educators working in the area of the "disadvantaged" or the "culturally deprived". As was mentioned in the last chapter about 103 projects of this type were identified by ERIC of Stanford University. These were mostly locally initiated programs using differentiated curricular approaches. Those projects and programs offered by large corporations or commercial concerns were not included in this classification by the ERIC group. When it comes to Blacks specifically, it is difficult to say how many of the ERIC-identified projects were mostly or all black, as poor whites, Indians, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and other so-called disadvantaged people also made up the ranks of these programs. Even more importantly, we do not know how many of the projects catering to an all or mostly black population were designed, initiated, implemented, controlled and operated by black staff, parents and/or community people. Many projects and programs of a local nature do not get reported in the literature, so it is difficult to determine to what extent programs of this type are operating and by whom.

There are many projects, programs, experiments, etc. going on using technological and media devices that are being conducted on black children, but not necessarily by Blacks nor for Blacks. These are additional cases of the academic rip-off where some exploiters sporting academic credentials use the "ghetto" as a laboratory to further their own careers and to enrich their own pockets without having the slightest intent of aiding the community in which they are working.

Black children in many urban areas are being impacted by technology in another way also. Big and small city school systems are implementing computerized management information systems which demand and consume huge amounts of data about the children, their home life, their communities and their families. Again, few of these systems are under the control of or are being designed and implemented by Blacks. These data files will be available for referencing throughout the child's lifetime. Crucial and important decisions will be based upon them. However, the GIGO principle of computer science remains in effect. It simply states "Garbage In, Garbage Out". Erroneous, useless, misleading, or harmful data may be (and are being) collected for these computerized information systems. The dangers of these systems are clear: If a child gets labeled early with a derogatory tag it can be disseminated quickly, far, and forever, no matter how untrue or inaccurate it may be. Even if the fact is true, the issue of privacy and individual rights and consent arises. On a collective level a serious problem exists. Resources, time and energy may be denied and/or poorly deployed to black communities because of misinformation being generated by these systems. This failure to allocate necessary resources to oppressed communities will be justified by a computer printout, which could be self serving to those who program the machine and who run the school system.

It is clear that issues and concerns of these natures were not addressed in the literature nor the conferences of any of the groups. Also most of the literature that did speak to technology and media seemed to show a consistent lack of awareness of the vast potentials (and perils) in telecommunications technology and media networking, and limited their concerns mostly to conventional audio-visual equipment, materials, and aids. "Higher order" technology such as the computer, satellites, microwave, lasers, fiber optics, were seldom, if ever, mentioned or discussed. Broadcast and cable television received more attention, as did video technology but this occurred more so among non-professional educators. Professional educators (with the exception of some in higher education) had the least to say about any type of technology.

How representative are these findings of the masses of black people? It is difficult to say. To find out more specifically how black parents, teachers, taxpayers and other Blacks who interact with youth in a socializing way (social workers, school administrators, etc.) feel about the use of telecommunications technology and media in the schooling of black children, survey research was undertaken among these segments of the black community. Non-Blacks who work in professional capacities which bring them into contact with black youths (teachers, social workers, etc.) were also included in the study sample. However, the main focus is on the black respondents. This research is discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 9

BLACK EDUCATION AND TECHNOLOGY:
THE SURVEY RESEARCH

The purpose of this chapter is to examine data directly related to the research questions posed in Chapter 1. In this chapter we focus, in part, on the question of what opinions and feelings do Blacks hold about the use of certain technologies in the education of their children. We also attempt to ascertain the relationship between these attitudes and the advocation of the use of these devices as educational media. From these and other empirical data generated by this research; together with the evidence presented in Chapter 8; along with the "macro history" approach employed earlier in Chapter 3, and the assessment of the current state of affairs made in Chapter 4; and with a future projection methodology utilized in the next chapter; policy implications for the socialization and schooling of black children in particular and black people in general are drawn in the last chapter.

The preceding chapter examined in some detail the views held by leading black educators, politicians, activists, publicaions, and organizations of the use of technology in the educational process of Blacks. In this chapter, we report on research conducted at the "grassroots" level to find out how parents, community people, teachers, school administrators, students (mostly college) and other lay and professional persons feel about this matter.

The specific technologies and media that were asked about are computers, communications satellites, television, radio, film, telephones, and tape recorders.

While we do not formally test hypotheses, we do pursue some "hunches", some informal hypotheses. These are elaborated upon in the Results section below.

It should be noted that this research is basically exploratory, with an eye toward generating some initial data for more elaborate research and analysis.

Methods and Procedures

The target population in this study consists of those persons, both professional and lay, who are involved with or interested in the socializing, training, and schooling of black people. Included in the sample are parents, professional educators, social workers, and other who may or may not impinge upon the socialization processes of Blacks. Survey data were collected from a St. Louis area metropolitan (including St. Louis County and the East St. Louis, Illinois area) nonprobability sample of such persons. A purposive sampling strategy was employed to get sample representation from various types of groups and organizations. In addition to parents and working professionals such as educators and social workers, black college students were included in the sample because of their potential as 1) future professionals, 2) future leaders and policymakers, and 3) future (and in some cases, present) parents. Many non- and para-professionals are also included in the sample.

To this end, the survey instrument was administered to persons in community organizations and centers, neighborhoods, schools, social service and welfare agencies, homes, a hospital, offices, and a penal institution. Persons working in or having access to these institutions and the people in them were asked to distribute the survey questionnaire among the people. The persons who assisted this investigator in disseminating the survey instrument were unpaid volunteers. Some were friends, acquaintances, or colleagues of the investigator; others were complete strangers. All in all, there were sixteen (16) such people involved in the dissemination and administration of the survey questionnaire.

A total of three hundred seventy-four (374) questionnaires were disseminated to various groups and individuals. Two hundred thirty-eight (238) were returned, for a return rate of about sixty-four percent (64%).

The instrument used to collect data was a six-page, twenty-eight (28) closed and open item questionnaire. This instrument was developed by this investigator. Items were included that would yield information on the respondents' opinions about several technologies and media used or proposed for use in schooling and education, on their knowledge of where these devices may be in use by schools, on their opinions about the efficacy of the schools efforts to educate black children, on personal and demographic data on the respondents, and on other points of interest. Instructions for completing the form were given on a cover page.

The instrument was tested with a group of undergraduate and graduate students prior to field administration. Revisions were made on it according to this tryout and based on suggestions and criticisms from other observers. The final form is presented as Appendix A.

Data collection took place between May and July, 1974. "Disseminators" (i.e. those who assisted in the distribution and administration of the research instrument) were given minimal information about the purpose of the study and were asked not to discuss the questionnaire with the respondents nor to engage in any other behavior that would influence subjects' responses. They were also requested to record certain information on the group to which they administered the instrument. Complete survey instructions to the "disseminators" are to be found in Appendix B. They were also asked to have the respondents read the instructions before filling out the instrument.

The disseminators, who were all Black, were students, professionals, non-professionals, parents, or some combination of these. They were mostly young people, most being under 30 years old.

Since the purpose of this survey research was to ascertain the opinions of black lay and professional persons about certain technologies and their use as teaching devices, items were included to measure these opinions. To control for other possible intervening and extraneous variables, information was collected on respondents' sex, age, educational level, number of children, and occupation. Race was also included as a variable since many people who come into contact with black children as teachers, social workers, neighbors, etc. are non-black.

So as not to influence the replies of respondents no information was provided on how the various technologies and media were or could be used as teaching devices.

Data analysis consists of calculating cross tabulations between the variables of interest and of presenting frequency distributions and descriptive statistics for all of the relevant items of interest. Regression models are also employed for prediction purposes. Data analysis was carried out by use of the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) program, on the IBM Model 360/65 computer at Washington University Computing Facilities.

Since formal hypothesis-testing is not being performed statistical tests of significance are not emphasized.

To facilitate data analysis, several indexes or scales were devised. The Opinion of Technology Scale (OTS) consists of the seven items of the instrument that asked for opinions of the various technologies. The School Satisfaction Scale (SSS) is made up of the four items that measured opinions about schools' performance in preparing black children with certain skills and information. The Awareness of Technology in Education Index (ATEI) is composed of two items: one that asked the respondents if they had previously thought about some or all of the technologies cited in this questionnaire being used in the education of black children; the other that asked if they knew of any schools, anywhere, that used devices of a technological nature. An Advocacy Scale (AS) is comprised of the one question that asks: "After having seen this questionnaire do you think that you would try to get your school system to implement a program that would use some or all of these devices as educational tools?"

The OTS is composed of items A1 to A7. The SSS is made up of items C3 to C6. The ATEI consists of items B1 and B2. And AS is derived from item C1. Values for the OTS, SSS, and ATEI are based on the added (composite) values of all the valid responses of the items making up the indexes, divided by the number of legitimate items. An item in any of the scales which had a "no response" or an "invalid answer" constituted an illegitimate item and was not included in the calculation of the scale in which it was founded.

The OTS was recoded to "good", "neutral" and "bad".[165] Values from 1.00 to 1.85 make up the "good" category, those from 1.86 to 2.14 constitute the "neutral" category, and values 2.15 to 3.000 are considered as the "bad" category.

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[165] Many of the respondents, while not actually being knowledgeable of the educational use of a device, went ahead and checked "good" for these items because of the wording of the question which asked for their opinion, and not their knowledge of a device. It is for this reason that these items were recoded. We are operating under the assumption that most people, especially lay persons, have very little familiarity with and knowledge of the educational use of some or all of the devices mentioned in this questionnaire.

The SSS values are: 1.00 to 1.49 = excellent; 1.50 to 2.49 = good; 2.50 to 3.49 = fair; 3.5 to 4.49 = poor; and 4.5 to 5.0 = lousy. (The "do not know" categories of these items have been eliminated due to the small numbers in them and the added calculations that would have been required to accommodate this classification in the scale. For these items, 97.4% to 99.5% of the respondents are in the first five categories, so data loss is quite small.

The ATEI values are: 1 = aware; 1.5 = slightly aware; and 2 = unaware.

For AS the values are: 1 = advocate; 2 = do not (advocate); and 3 = do not know.

Results

Of the 238 respondents, 190 classified their race as Black (Afro-American, Negro, or colored). Thirty-four (34) identified themselves as white, two (2) listed their race as American Indian, one (1) as Asian-American, one (1) checked in as Other-American, two (2) others listed themselves as foreign nationals, seven (7) did not respond, and one (1) person managed to give an invalid answer. For our purposes here, we will report mainly the results of the 190 black respondents as they are the target population of primary interest. Statistics on the responses of the total sample can be found in Appendix D.

Appendix C contains frequency distributions and descriptive statistics for the black respondents on the items of the survey questionnaire. As a rule we will refer to these appendices and the appropriate page number(s) in them for these types of statistics on the respondents. This is to preserve the readability of this chapter by not cluttering it with a great many tables and interspersing the text with the same.

Opinions of the various technologies and media. When asked what did they think of the computer as a means of teaching black children 28.9% said they thought that it was a good idea, 15.3% felt that it was a bad idea, 29.5% said they did not know enough about it and its educational use, another 17.9% said that they did not know enough about the device, but still felt that it was a good idea, and 7.9% did not like the idea, even though they did not know enough about the device. One person (0.5%) did not respond.

When asked about communications satellites as a teaching medium, 25.8% of the respondents considered this a good idea, 8.4% did not, 41.1% reported that they did not know enough about this device and its educational application, 16.3% said that they did not know enough about the device but still thought it a good idea, and 6.8% did not consider it a worthy notion while reporting they did not know much about the technology. Three persons gave either no response or an invalid answer.

As for the *radio*, 72.2% unqualifiedly thought it a good idea to use it as a teaching device, 12.6% did not like the idea, 6.8% said they were not familiar with it and its educational use (probably meaning that they did not know how it would be used as a teaching tool), 4.7% thought the idea a good one but also said they did not know enough about the device, and 2.6% felt it was a bad idea while they too said they did not know enough about it.

Over eighty-three percent (83.7%) considered the use of *television* as an instructional medium to be a good idea, 6.8% thought that it was not, 5.3% did not know enough about it and its educational use, 3.2% felt that it was a good idea, even though they were unfamiliar with its educational use, and 3.2% were of the opinion that it was not a good idea to use television in the education of black children, although they did not know of its educational application. One person did not respond and another gave an invalid answer.

When asked about the *telephone* as a teaching device 65.8% responded that it was a good idea to use it, 15.3% responded in the negative, 9.5 percent felt that they did not know enough about it and its use in this manner, 4.7% felt that this was a good idea while not knowing enough about the device, and 3.7% felt the opposite way under the same condition. One no response and an invalid answer constitute the rest of the responses.

The tape recorder received a favorable opinion from 85.8% of the respondents, 4.2% did not favor it, 6.3% did not know of its educational uses, another 6.3% did not know of the (educational use of the) device but favored its use, and one person did not favor its use while not knowing of it. Two persons gave no or invalid responses.

Films as a teaching device received a 90.5% endorsement from the respondents, 3.7% outright thought it was a bad idea, 1.6% did not think of them in an educational context, 2.1% similarly did not know of them educationally but felt it was a good idea to use them for this purpose and one person, while not knowing of them as educational devices, opposed the idea. Two no responses and on invalid answer round out the picture.

It is clear that the greater the familiarity with the item, the greater the unqualified support for it. Contrast, for example, computers and communications satellites with films and television.

Prior consideration of technologies. When asked: "Before seeing this questionnaire had you ever thought about or discussed the possibility of these devices being used in the education of black children"; 34.2% said yes, 41.1% said yes, but only some of them, and 20.5% said no, and 4.2% did not respond to the question.

The respondents were asked to list which one(s) of the technologies that they had considered before. Appendix C contains this information (pp.). In almost all instances the more familiar devices are mentioned with the most frequency. A notable exception is the computer in the first order of listings; it was the third most cited device.

Another interesting observation is that, of those who listed devices, most of these respondents cited no more than three (3) devices. And nobody cited as many as seven (7).

When asked if they knew of schools, in or outside of the St. Louis area, that utilized these devices, 50.5% responded yes and 45.3% said no. About four percent (4.2%) did not respond. Those persons who listed places or schools where these devices are supposedly in use mentioned over fifty different places, schools, and institutions where technology and media devices are in use. See Table IV for the listings. Page 17 of Appendix C gives a breakdown by area where these places are. Over 83% of the listings are in the St. Louis metropolitan area including St. Louis County and the Metro East (Illinois) area.

When asked: "After having seen this questionnaire do you think that you would try to get your school system to implement a program that would use some or all of these devices as education tools?"; 71.1% of the respondents answered in the affirmative, 5.8% in the negative and 20.% said they did not know. Another 3.1 percent did not respond or gave an invalid answer.

TABLE IV

Respondents' Listing of Places Where Technology and Media Are Used in Education

---

Waring Grade School (Compton & Laclede)
Benton School
Clinton School
St. Louis Public School
Yeatman
Vashon
Carver School
Most Schools
Ladue School District
Clayton School District
Northwest-Soldan District
Clark School
Emerson School
Maplewood Richmond Heights
University City
Oral Roberts University, Tulsa, Oklahoma

North Carolina
New York City
Irving Elementary
St. Louis County Schools
Mehlville School Dist.
Park Forest So.,Ill.
Highland Park,Michigan
Cupples School
Los Angeles, Calif.
Mark Twain
Hempstead Branch
Gundloch
District 187
District 189
Gary, Indiana
Hamilton Branch School No. 3

Meramec Jr. College
Signal Hill
Banneker School Dist.
Dunbar School
O'Fallon Tech.
N.Y.C. Public School
Rock Hill School Dist.
Oklahoma
St. Mark's School
S.I.U.,Edwardsville
E. St. Louis
Chicago
Evanston
Golden Garden
Alta Sita

In response to the query about their reaction if the schools used these or similar devices as the primary way of teaching black children, instead of teachers, 72.1% said they would oppose this action, 17.4% said they would accept it and 8.4 percent did not know. Two persons gave no response and two others gave invalid answers.

Data on respondents' opinions of the schools in terms of the schools providing black children with the basic skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic, a sense of their cultural heritage and, with the necessary equipment for employment are presented in Appendix C, pp 21-24. The descriptive results on other variables of interest (age, occupation, number of children, sex, school district the respondent lives or teaches in, type of school children attend, amount of schooling, etc. are presented in this appendix as well.

All in all, these data tell us that the respondents are young (over 70% are 35 years of age or younger); highly schooled (most having high school and college diplomas, or some other form of post-secondary training); most have children; and that many are professionals (44.4%), non- or para-professionals (40.2%) or students (13.8%).

It is hard to say how representative this sample is of the larger black population in the St. Louis metropolitan area and the nation given the present controversy over the relative social progress of Blacks in recent years.[166] However, from my own work in this area I do know that this sample is very representative of those who engage in social action and community affairs. Among Blacks (and others), they tend to be the better schooled, younger members of a group.

The respondents were asked: "What are the devices, machines and programs that you would find most useful or helpful in the education of black children?"; and they were requested to list them in order of importance to them. Those who responded to this question listed over eighty (80) such items. Table V presents the various machines, programs, devices, et al. that were cited. Pages 36-45 of Appendix C, and pages 36-46 of Appendix D give the listings by choice for black respondents and all respondents, respectively.

We now turn to examining the interaction of the attitudinal variables with each other, and with the demographic ones.

One area of interest to us (one of our hunches in fact) is the relationship between opinion of technology and the attitudes held toward the schools. For purposes of examining this association, we used crosstabulation analysis on the OTS and SSS measures. These results are presented in Table VI. While we thought that those with a lower opinion

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[166] See the special issue of Ebony ("The Black Middle Class", August, 1973) and several issues of Black Scholar (October, 1971; November-December, 1972; January, 1973, and February.) for extended discussions on the present views and interpretations of social and economic statistics on Blacks.

TABLE V

Respondents' Listing of Devices, Machines, Programs, etc. That They Would Find Useful In the Education of Black Children

---

- Foreign exchange program between U.S. & Africa
- Movie
- None
- Basics of reading, writing and arithmetic
- Tape (audio)
- Tape (visual)
- Typewriters
- "Meaningful materials" which are constantly available
- Communication satellite
- Language master
- 8 mm loops
- Earphones
- Tapes
- Stimulating,
- Overhead projector
- Loop-sound film machine
- RCA- motion, sound
- Dukane, sound films
- Teacher
- Controlled reader
- Programmed instruction machines
- Movie projector
- Slide projector
- Microfilm
- Microfiche
- Newspaper
- Magazines
- Microscopes
- Lectures
- Field trips
- Group discussion
- Mathematic program
- Science program
- Black Institution teaching Black experience
- Classes in Zoology
- Classes in Botany
- Classes in Biology
- Radio
- Television
- Tape recorder
- Films
- Computers
- Tachistocope
- Telephone
- Reading Machines
- Black History
- Audio-Visual aids
- Tape recorder with listening center
- All types of aids
- Open classroom
- Reading programs or labs
- Language programs
- Arts
- Black Awareness Program
- Record player
- Closed circuit TV
- Black Studies
- Programmed Material
- Tutorial programs
- Parent/Teacher/ Student Program
- Increased use of Public Library
- Human Programs
- Books
- Museum visits
- Guest lecturers
- Videotape
- Various copy machine
- Elementary psychology course
- Urban studies
- Any & all devices listed(on questionnaire)
- Controlled readers
- Educational programs
- Slides
- Cameras
- Good liberal education
- Phono records
- Current articles
- Flash cards
- Tape head phones
- History

TABLE VI

Opinion of Technology by School Satisfaction Scale

Opinion of Technology	School Satisfaction Scale				
	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor	Lousy
Good	66.7	89.7	84.1	86.3	81.8
Neutral	33.3	10.3	7.9	9.6	4.5
Bad	0.0	0.0	7.9	4.1	13.6
Total %	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	99.9
N =	3	29	63	73	22
(% of Total N)	(1.6)	(15.3)	(33.2)	(38.4)	(11.6)

of the schools would be more favorable to the idea of using technology in the education of black children than those with a high regard for the schools, the data in Table VI suggest that there is no difference in the various groups' opinion of technology as a teaching medium. The chi-square and contingency coefficient statistics bear out this lack of association.

Tables VII through XIII show additional results of the opinion of technology that is held by the respondents associated with several other variables, awareness of technology, parenthood, highest level of formal schooling acquired, occupation, sex, and age. It should be noted that by various statistical criteria (chi-square, contingency coefficients, Kendall's Tau, etc. statistics) only one of the associations showed statistical significance, at the .05 level; this is opinion (OTS) by advocacy (AS).

In Table VII the data show that regardless of how people reported what their awareness was of the use of technology for learning and teaching purposes, whether they were aware, slightly aware or unaware, they generally held a favorable opinion of technology used for the education of black children.

Table VIII's results show that those who would advocate for its use also have good opinions of it. Even among the few people who would not advocate its use as a teaching device, about 91% still view the various technologies and media favorably. Among those who are uncertain about

TABLE VII

Opinion of Technology by Awareness of Technology in Education

Opinion of Technology	Awareness			
	Aware	Slightly Aware	Unaware	No Response/ Invalid Answer
Good	84.4	88.1	81.3	100.0
Neutral	10.0	7.5	9.4	0
Bad	5.6	4.5	9.4	0
Total %	100.0	100.1	100.1	100.0
N =	90	67	32	1
(% of Total N)	(47.4)	(35.3)	(16.8)	(0.5)

TABLE VIII

Opinion of Technology by Advocacy of Technology Use

Opinion of Technology	Advocacy			
	Advocate	Do Not Advocate	Don't Know	No Response/ Invalid Answer
Good	90.9	90.9	71.1	83.3
Neutral	6.1	9.1	13.2	0.0
Bad	3.0	0.0	15.8	16.7
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0
N =	135	11	38	6
(% of Total N)	(71.1)	(5.8)	(20.0)	(3.2)

their advocating the use of machines, technical programs and the like for educating black youth, one finds the majority (71%) supporting the idea of technology being used in education. However, it is among this group where the opinion of technology is the lowest. About 13% of the respondents were neutral in their feelings and 16% did not like the idea. These results are significant (chi-square, $p < .05$, $df = 6$), as to be expected.

People with children appear to be more favorable in their opinion than those without, but the differences are not really that great (86% and 77%). Table IX has these data.

Table X shows that regardless of degree or diploma held, the vast majority of the respondents deem the idea of using technology in education a worthy one.

When we look at our criterion variable in terms of occupation, again the majority of all the people in the various occupational categories support the notion of technology and media in the teaching of black children. However, people in some occupations find the idea more appealing than those in others. In the categories of "Administrator", "Housewife", "Counselor", Nurses and Hospital Workers" and "Librarian", about two-thirds of the respondents are of a "good" opinion (as compared to 86% to 100% in the other categories). This phenomenon may be, however, a function of the small numbers in each of these categories. (See Table XI.)

The sex difference on this variable is minimal as Table XII shows. About 88% of the females favor the use of

TABLE IX

Opinion of Technology by Parenthood

Opinion of Technology	Parenthood	
	Have Children	No Children
Good	85.7	76.7
Neutral	9.3	10.0
Bad	5.0	13.3
Total %	100.0	100.0
N* =	140	30
(% of Total N Reporting)	(82.4)	(17.6)

*(20 persons did not report a valid or any response)

TABLE X

Opinion of Technology by Highest Degree or Diploma Held

Opinion of Technology	Degree, Diploma, Certificate						
	Did Not Finish High School	High School Graduate or Equivalent	Associate's Degree	Bachelor's	Master's	Ph.D. or Other Doctorate	Voc.-Tech. Certificate
Good	77.8	87.0	85.7	84.0	82.6	100.0	87.0
Neutral	11.1	7.2	0.0	14.0	13.0	0.0	4.3
Bad	11.1	5.8	14.3	2.0	4.3	0.0	8.7
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0
N* =	9	69	7	50	23	1	23
(% of Total N Reporting)	(4.9)	(37.9)	(3.8)	(27.5)	(12.6)	(0.5)	(12.6)

* (8 persons did not report a valid or any response)

TABLE XI

Opinion of Technology by Occupation

Opinion of Technology	Occupation				
	Teacher	Social Worker	Administrator	Counselor	Librarian
Good	86.1	92.3	66.7	66.7	66.7
Neutral	13.9	3.8	0.0	33.3	0.0
Bad	0.0	3.8	33.3	0.0	33.3
Total %	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	36	26	3	6	3
(% of Total N)	(21.6)	(15.6)	(1.8)	(3.6)	(1.8)

TABLE XI (cont.)

Opinion of Technology	Occupation						
	House-wife	Community worker	Student	Teacher's Aide	Secretary Clerk	Nurse-Medical	Other
Good	66.7	75.0	87.0	100.0	95.5	71.4	86.4
Neutral	25.0	25.0	4.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.1
Bad	8.3	0.0	8.7	0.0	4.5	28.6	4.5
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N*=	12	4	23	3	22	7	22
(% of Total N Reporting)	(7.2)	(2.4)	(13.8)	(1.8)	(13.2)	(4.2)	(13.2)

* (23 persons gave an invalid or no response)

TABLE XII

Opinion of Technology by Sex

Opinion of Technology	Sex	
	Male	Female
Good	81.5	88.2
Neutral	11.1	6.4
Bad	7.4	5.5
Total %	100.0	100.1
N* =	54	110
(% of Total N Reporting)	(32.9)	(67.1)

* (26 persons gave an invlaid or no response)

technology as a teaching media and 81.5% of the males do so as well.

Data in Table XIII show that generally there is no significant difference among the various age groups on the idea of using different types of machines, devices, etc. in educating black youth. In only one instance, in the 51-55 age range, is there to be found widespread unacceptance among the respondents. In this group 50% thought technology in education was a good idea, 33% had neutral or mixed feelings about it and 17% did not like the idea.

At this point we now look at the Advocacy Scale and the associations it has with other variables. As a criterion variable we examine it relative to the ATEI index, the SSS, parenthood, sex, occupation, age and highest level of scholastic achievement. As with the Opinion of Technology Scale, no statistical significance is found in any of these associations. As a matter of fact, many of the associations were highly insignificant. This is to say that there are no statistical differences among the various classifications in our taxonomies on the advocation of technology in education. Tables XIV through XX portray the results of these various cross-classifications. We shall not discuss these tables individually as we did for the preceding dependent variable (opinion of technology) because the tables present the data in a very straightforward manner. It is interesting to note that there is less certainty about advocating the various technologies, whereas people were generally quite favorable toward it.

TABLE XIII

Opinion of Technology by Age

Opinion of Technology	Age				
	Under 18	18-25	26-30	31-35	36-40
Good	100.0	84.9	93.5	85.2	75.0
Neutral	0.0	5.7	4.3	11.1	12.5
Bad	0.0	9.4	2.2	3.7	12.5
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	3	53	46	27	16
(% of Total N)	(1.7)	)29.8)	(25.8)	(15.2)	(9.0)

TABLE XIII (cont.)

Opinion of Technology by Age

Opinion of Technology	Age				
	41-45	46-50	51-55	56-60	Over 65
Good	92.3	95.7	50.0	80.0	100.0
Neutral	0.0	14.3	33.3	20.0	0.0
Bad	7.7	0.0	16.7	0.0	0.0
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N* =	13	7	6	5	2
(% of Total N Reporting)	(7.3)	(3.9)	(3.4)	(2.8)	(1.1)

* (12 persons gave no or an invalid response)

TABLE XIV

Advocacy Scale by Awareness of Technology in Education Index

Advocacy	Awareness			
	Aware	Slightly Aware	Unaware	Invalid or No Response
Advocate	72.2	74.6	59.4	100.0
Do Not	4.4	6.0	9.4	0.0
Don't Know	21.1	16.4	25.0	0.0
No or Invalid Response	2.2	3.0	6.3	0.0
Total %	99.9	100.0	100.1	100.0
N =	90	67	32	1
(% of Total N)	(47.4)	(35.3)	(16.8)	(0.5)

TABLE XV

Advocacy Scale by School Satisfaction Scale

Advocacy	School Satisfaction Scale				
	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor	Lousy
Advocate	66.7	72.4	66.7	76.7	63.6
Do Not	0.0	6.9	11.1	0.0	9.1
Don't Know	33.3	17.2	17.5	21.9	22.7
No or Invalid Response	0.0	3.4	4.8	1.4	4.5
Total %	100.0	99.9	100.1	100.0	99.9
N =	3	29	63	73	22
(% of Total N)	(1.6)	(15.3)	(33.2)	(38.4)	(11.6)

TABLE XVI

Advocacy Scale by Parenthood

Advocacy	Parenthood	
	Have Children	No Children
Advocate	72.9	60.0
Do Not	6.4	3.3
Don't Know	17.9	33.3
No or Invalid Response	2.9	3.3
Total %	100.1	99.9
N* . =	140	30
(% of Total N Reporting)	(82.4)	(17.6)

* (20 persons gave no or an invalid response)

TABLE XVII

Advocacy Scale by Sex

Advocacy	Sex	
	Male	Female
Advocate	77.8	69.1
Do Not	3.7	5.5
Don't Know	16.7	21.8
No or Invalid Response	1.9	3.6
Total %	100.1	100.0
N* =	54	110
(% of Total N Reporting)	(32.9)	(67.1)

* (26 persons gave no or an invalid response)

TABLE XVIII

Advocacy Scale by Occupation

Advocacy	Occupation				
	Teacher	Social Worker	Administrator	Counselor	Librarian
Advocate	66.7	73.1	66.7	83.3	66.7
Do Not	8.3	3.8	0.0	16.7	0.0
Don't Know	25.0	23.1	33.3	0.0	33.3
No or Invalid Response	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	36	26	3	6	3
(% of Total N)	(21.6)	(15.6)	(1.8)	(3.6)	(1.8)

TABLE XVIII (cont.)

Advocacy Scale by Occupation

Advocacy	Occupation						
	House wife	Community worker	Student	Teacher's Aid	Secretary-Clerk	Nurse Medical	Other
Advocate	75.0	75.0	65.2	66.7	77.3	57.1	90.0
Do Not	0.0	0.0	13.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.5
Don't Know	16.7	25.0	21.7	33.0	18.2	28.6	4.5
No or Invalid Response	8.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.5	14.3	0.0
Total %	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N* =	12	4	23	3	22	7	22
(% of Total N Reporting)	(7.2)	(2.4)	(13.8)	(1.8)	(13.2)	(412)	(13.2)

* (23 persons gave no or an invalid response)

TABLE XIX

Advocacy by Age

Advocacy	Age Under 18	18-25	26-30	31-35	36-40
Advocate	66.7	67.9	63.0	77.8	81.3
Do Not	0.0	7.5	4.3	0.0	6.3
Don't Know	33.3	20.8	28.3	22.2	12.5
No or Invalid Response	0.0	3.8	4.3	0.0	0.0
Total %	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.1
N =	3	53	46	27	16
(% of Total N Reporting)	(1.7)	(29.8)	(25.8)	(15.2)	(9.0)

TABLE XIX (cont.)

Advocacy by Age

Advocacy	Age 41-45	46-50	51-55	56-60	Over 65
Advocate	84.6	85.7	50.0	80.0	100.0
Do Not	15.4	0.0	0.0	20.0	0.0
Don't Know	0.0	14.3	50.0	0.0	0.0
No or Invalid Response	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N* =	13	7	6	5	2
(% of Total N Reporting)	(7.3)	(3.9)	(3.4)	(2.8)	(1.1)

* (12 persons gave no or an invalid response)

TABLE XX

Advocacy Scale by Highest Degree or Diploma Held

Advocacy	Degree, Diploma, Certificate						
	Did Not Finish High School	High School Graduate or Equivalent	Associate's Degree	Bachelor's	Master's	PhD, Other Doctorate	Voc-Tech Certificate
Advocate	55.6	73.9	57.1	70.0	60.9	100.0	95.7
Do Not	0.0	4.3	0.0	12.0	8.7	0.0	0.0
Don't Know	44.4	17.4	42.9	16.0	26.1	0.0	0.0
No or Invalid Response	0.0	4.3	0.0	2.0	4.3	0.0	4.3
Total %	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N^* =	9	69	7	50	23	1	(23)
(% of Total N Reporting)	(4.9)	(37.9)	(3.8)	(27.5)	(12.6)	(0.5)	(12.6)

* (8 persons gave no or an invalid response)

As an aside we examined the association between the two criterion variables (OTS and AS) for all respondents and found that this crosstabulation was highly significant (chi-square, $p < 0.0028$, $df = 12$; results not shown), as it was with Blacks only (compare with Table VIII). Seventy-four percent of those who think that the use of technology in the education of black children is a good idea also report that they would advocate for its use. Only 25% of those who think it is a bad idea say that they would advocate its use, while the other 75% report that they did not know.

Of those who feel that the various technologies in black education is a good idea, 6% said that they would not advocate their use, and about 17% said they did not know.

All in all, 85.3% of the black respondents think the idea of using technology in black education is a good one, 4.2% do not and the rest have mixed or neutral feelings about it.

As to the advocation of the use of technology, 71 percent of the black respondents would do so, about 6% would not, 20% are uncertain, and about 3% did not respond or did not give a valid answer to the question.

Race. Tables XXI to XXIV show the racial breakdown on the OTS, AS, ATEI, and SSS scales. As with the other relationships, there are no major statistical differences among these presented below. In essence, all of the racial groups report about the same attitudes toward technology, advocating technology in the education of black children,

TABLE XXI

Opinion of Technology by Race

Opinion of Technology	Race					
	Black	White	American Indian	Asian-American	Other American	Foreign National
Good	85.3	85.3	100.0	100.0	100.0	50.0
Neutral	8.9	14.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0
Bad	5.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N* =	190	34	2	1	1	2
(% of Total N Reporting)	(82.6)	(14.8)	(6.9)	(0.4)	(0.4)	(0.9)

* (8 persons gave no or an invalid response)

TABLE XXII

Advocacy Scale by Race

Advocacy	Race					
	Black	White	American Indian	Asian-American	Other American	Foreign National
Advocate	71.1	61.8	50.0	100.0	100.0	50.0
Do Not	5.8	8.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0
Don't Know	20.0	20.6	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
No or Invalid Response	3.2	8.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total %	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N* =	190	34	2	1	1	2
(% of Total N Reporting)	(82.6)	(14.8)	(0.9)	(0.4)	(0.4)	(0.9)

* (8 persons gave no or an invalid response)

TABLE XXIII

Awareness of Technology in Education by Race

Awareness	Race Black	 White	 American Indian	 Asian-American	 Other-American	 Foreign National
Aware	47.4	73.5	50.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
Slightly Aware	35.3	23.5	50.0	0.0	100.0	50.0
Unaware	16.8	2.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0
Invalid or No Response	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total %	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N* =	190	34	2	1	1	2
(% of Total N Reporting)	(82.6)	(14.8)	(0.9)	(0.4)	(0.4)	(0.9)

* (8 persons gave no or an invalid answer)

TABLE XXIV

School Satisfaction Scale by Race

School Satisfaction Scale	Race					
	Black	White	American Indian	Asian-American	Other-American	Foreign National
Excellent	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Good	15.3	8.8	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
Fair	33.2	38.2	50.0	0.0	100.0	50.0
Poor	38.4	47.1	50.0	0.0	0.0	50.0
Lousy	11.6	5.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total %	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N* =	190	34	2	1	1	2
(% of Total N Reporting)	(82.6)	(14.8)	(0.9)	(0.4)	(0.4)	(0.9)

* (8 persons gave no or an invalid response)

awareness of technology, and the schools' efforts to educate black children. Detailed discussion and analysis of these data are not made at this time. It is noteworthy to observe that on the awareness index (ATEI) whites report a higher level of awareness than do the other groups (with the exception of the Asian-American category which has only one person in it). This is probably due to occupation acting as an intervening variable, that is most of the whites in this sample are in occupations (such as teaching, social work, etc.) that allows them to have familiarity with the inside operations of the schools and other socializing institutions. In order to say that whites are more aware of the use of technology in education than other groups, we would have to have a larger sample of whites and the other groups, and also one that is representative of the total white population in terms of occupation, education, and other variables. The whites in this sample by virtue of the sampling strategy are not reflective of the total white population in the area or the country. To effectively examine this relationship in this study one would have to hold occupation as a variable constant.

It is interesting to note that 50% of the black respondents and 50% of all respondents feel that the schools are doing a "poor" or "lousy" job in preparing black youth for their life in society. Thirty-three and thirty-four percent, respectively, think that the schools are doing a "fair" job, and most of the rest (15% and 14%) think "good" is an adequate description of the schools' efforts vis-a-vis black youth.

Discussion

The results show that the majority of the black respondents of all ages, occupations, schooling levels, awareness (of the use of technology in education) levels, parental status, sex, and degrees of satisfaction with the schools' efforts think that the use of certain technologies and media in the education of black children is a good idea. The more familiar devices, such as television, radio, films and movies, etc., enjoy more support than do computers and satellites. Overall, the response is a favorable one to the utilization of these devices.

The data generated by this study also indicate that most blacks (71%) are willing to advocate the use of some or all of these devices as educational tools. Twenty percent are uncertain about this. The majority of the black respondents (72%) make it clear that they are opposed to using devices, program, etc. of a technological nature as a primary way of teaching black children. About 17% say they would accept this action and another 8% or so do not know about or have no opinion on this matter. The others gave no response or an invalid one.

Among all of the respondents, regardless of race, their attitudes toward technology, the schools, advocacy of educational use of technology, and awareness of its use educationally are basically the same. Most approve of the idea of technology utilization in black education. Most did not give the schools high ratings, most would advocate the use of technology in the schools, and about half say that they are aware of technology use in the schools.

While on the race factor there is no statistical difference in attitudes toward these variables, an examination of the comments made by the respondents (see Appendix E) indicate that there are some subtle qualitative differences in perceptions of black education and the role of technology in it. Many whites who made comments seem to think that race is an unimportant or irrelevant factor in education. Blacks seem to be conscious of the peculiar and particular educational needs that are Blacks by virtue of their being victims of systematic and institutionalized racism, exploitation and oppression.

On the point of the awareness level, most people are probably familiar with the use of traditional audio-visual aids and equipment, and to some extent instructional television and radio. Computers may be familiar to some of the people working in school systems or in schools that have instructional programs employing them as teaching media. Most people are probably unaware of how communications satellites, telephones and even computers, television, and radio could be or are applicable to educational activity.

We must now ask how do these results relate to or answer our research questions. For the major question--"What are the implications of the utilization (or non-utilization) of 'educational technologies' in the educational strategies and goals of Black Americans?"--we postpone answering until Chapter 11 when we examine it in light of all the available evidence presented in this work. A related question concerns the relationship between awareness of technology and of its ramifications and advocation of its use in the black socialization processes. This question is answered in part by the examination of the data in Table XIV. Seventy-two percent of those who say that they are aware of the use of technology in schools also would advocate its use in black education. Of those who are unaware 59.4% would advocate its use. Data presented in the last chapter also give additional insight into this question. They showed that those Blacks that had a high level of technical and political awareness were the most prone to consciously structure educational goals, strategies and programs for Blacks that included technology. In an indirect way these observations are borne out by the data in this chapter. Those respondents with a high degree of dissatisfaction with the schools would advocate using technology as a teaching device. However, as we have shown, there is not much statistical difference on this attitude among these groups and others who think the schools are doing a fair or good job. But their reasons for being willing to advocate technology utilization in education may be different. We can not explore this possibility with this sample with the data on hand. One could speculate that those unhappy with the schools would be willing to see anything tried to improve the educational opportunities of black children, while those more pleased with the schools' efforts may think that the use of technology would enhance their already satisfactory performance. This proposition could be subjected to an empirical test.

To shed further light on the question of advocacy we constructed a regression model to see if advocacy (as measured by the Advocacy Scale) could be predicted from certain variables or characteristics of the black sample population. As predictor variables we included satisfaction level with schools as measured by the SSS, awareness of technology in education as indicated by the ATEI, parenthood, occupation, age, and education with formal degree or diploma as the measure. As to be expected for the earlier results these variables do not allow one to "predict" how a given respondent will respond on the Advocacy Scale. Table XXV presents these data.

Using the same predictor variables and adding advocacy as a predictor we structured a model for predicting opinion of technology (OTS). Similar results are to be found. Again, this lack of predictability of the criterion variable by the other variables is not surprising in light of the earlier results obtained from the crosstabulation analyses. This model is reported in Table XVI.

TABLE XXV

Summary Table of Statistics From Stepwise Multiple Regression, Predicting Advocacy of Technology Utilization in Black Education

Advocacy Scale Regressed on School Satisfaction Scale, Awareness of Technology in Education Index, Parenthood, Highest Diploma or Degree Held (Education), Occupation, Age

Variables	b- coefficient	Beta	F-Ratio	P- Less Than
School Satisfaction Scale	-1.53559	-0.10123	1.334	.05
Awareness of Technology in Education Index	3.96762	0.10330	1.363	.05
Parenthood	1.65258	0.04428	0.244	.05
Education	-0.46330	-0.06626	0.531	.05
Occupation	0.12518	0.03649	0.168	.05
Age	-0.75404	-0.09976	1.128	.05
(Constant)	5.39608			

R= 0.21614, R^2 = 0.04672, F-Ratio for the full model= 1.08629 with 6 and 133 degrees of freedom, Standard error= 14.31714

TABLE XXVI

Summary Table of Statistics from Stepwise Regression, Predicting Opinion of Technology in Education of Black Children

Opinion of Technology Scale Regressed on School Satisfaction Scale, Awareness of Technology in Education Index, Advocacy Scale, Parenthood, Highest Diploma or Degree Held (Education), Occupation, Age.

Variables	b- coefficient	Beta	F-Ratio	P Less Than
School Satisfaction Scale	0.06542	0.10845	1.556	.05
Awareness of Technology in Education Index	0.04205	0.02753	0.098	.05
Advocacy Scale	0.00526	0.13223	2.387	.05
Parenthood	0.31381	0.21147	5.710	.05
Education	-0.00120	-0.00648	0.005	.05
Occupation	0.00657	0.04819	0.300	.05
Age	0.05887	0.19586	4.427	.05
(Constant)	0.30792			

$R = 0.27986$, $R^2 = 0.07832$, F-Ratio for full model = 1.60247 with 7 and 132 degrees of freedom, Standard error = 0.56192

We will fully discuss the implications of these findings for policy purposes in Chapter 11 and, therefore, defer from drawing conclusions until then.

In the next chapter another means of examining the implications of technology in black education is presented. Before turning to this we present a brief discussion of the limitations of this study.

As with all social research endeavors, this particular survey suffers from some design weaknesses. Employing a purposive sampling strategy as opposed to random sampling leaves to question the representativeness of this sample of the black population in general. Also, being limited mostly to the St. Louis, Missouri-East St. Louis, Illinois metropolitan area, it may not reflect the attitudes and opinions of people who live in places where technology and political awareness and activity are greater or less, or where the use of technology in schools and other facets of life may be more or less so than in this area. A third limitation that should be noted is that the wording of some items on the questionnaire was felt by some respondents not to be very clear or meaningful. For example, with the items soliciting opinions about the use of various devices as educational, no description and/or examples of their uses (past, current, or proposed) were provided. If they were, it is conceivable that different responses could have been made.

These limitations do not appear to seriously impair the validity of this study and the findings and results of it.

Chapter 10

BLACK EDUCATION AND TECHNOLOGY: A SCENARIO

Scenarios are tools for forecasting probabilistic future states of affairs from available data, for policy-making purposes. Kahn and Weiner describe scenarios as "hypothetical sequences of events constructed for the purpose of focusing attention on causal process and decision points." They point out later, in the same work that: "The scenario is particularly suited to dealing with events taken together--integrating several aspects of a situation more or less simultaneously."

The scenario serves as a means for constructing "alternative futures", for examining *plausible possibilities*. Scenarios may be either qualitative or quantitative, but in either instance their plausibility rests on supporting evidence from a multitude of sources. However, by their very nature (that is being a conjectural form of futures forecasting), they are intuitive, and they draw upon a writer's imagination, creativity, and clairvoyance (if he or she possesses it) to deal with the uncertainties of the future.

Herman Kahn and Anthony J. Wiener, *The Year 2000* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1967), p. 6.

Ibid., p. 262.

Scenarios are but one technique for studying future events, developments, and possibilities, and for planning and designing appropriate strategies and policies to *meet*, to *control* and to *change* them. A new science (or art) is emerging. At present it has not been christianed with a definite name and it is currently referred to as "Policies Studies", "Futures Research", "Futurology", "Futures Studies", etc. These terms are often used interchangeably to make reference to the organized study of the future. Harold Shane, in his excellent monograph *The Educational Significance of the Future*, defines this new field as follows:

> It is a new discipline concerned with sharpening the data and improving the processes on the basis of which policy decisions are made in various fields of human endeavor such as business, government, or education. The purpose of the discipline is to help policy makers choose wisely--in terms of their purposes and values--among alternative courses of action that are open to leadership at a given time.
>
> In the process of reaching educational decisions, futures research is not limited to providing reasoned and documented advice: It is intended to sensitize the policy maker himself to possible alternative futures, to the probable consequences of a given course of action. In other words, futures research focuses on educating the policy makers.

He goes on to show how futures research differs from conventional planning:

> (1) Futures planning is deliberately directed by the planner's examined values and is action-oriented. It emphasizes alternative avenues rather than linear projections and concentrates on relationships

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The Educational Significance of the Future (Bloomington, Indiana: Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation, 1973), pp. 1-2.

> among probabilities, their cross-impact upon one another, and the possible implications of such influences.
>
> (2) Futures planning is designed to point to more alternative courses of action than does conventional planning; to keep good ideas from being overlooked.
>
> (3) Traditional planning has tended to be utopian, to see tomorrow merely as an improved model of the present. Futures research recognizes the need to anticipate and to plan genuinely different concepts of the future.
>
> (4) It relies more heavily on the rational study of anticipated developments and their consequences and gives less heed to statistical analysis or projection per se.
>
> (5) In futures planning, the focus is not on the reform of the past. Rather, it concentrates on the creation of a "probabilistic environment" in which alternative consequences and possibilities are given careful study before choices are made.

The emphasis in this area of study is clearly on how to harness, control and shape the future as opposed to viewing it as simply an extension of the present and the past. It in essence asks "what do we want our future to be?" Implicit in this notion is the idea that there are a range of alternative futures and it is in Man's power to determine which one(s) will be his lot. This field also examines the intended, unintended, desirable and undesirable consequences of taking certain actions and of making certain choices.

In addition to the scenario, other methodologies and techniques are employed to systematically study alterna-

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Ibid., p. 2.

tive futures and the consequences of present, past and future choices and actions. These include both quantitative and qualitative approaches, new and conventional. Some of these are brain-storming, synectics, the Delphi methodology, "experience compression", simulation models, trend extrapolation, multiple correlation analysis, technological progress function, environmental monitoring, morphological analysis, heuristic modeling, cost-benefit analysis, and the list could go on and on. Needless to say, futures research, or policies studies as some prefer to call it, is multidisciplinary in approach, and universal in outlook.

Below I have presented a scenario--actually two scenarios, one quite brief, the other more extensive--on possible and plausible uses that could be made of telecommunications technology and other media in the socialization process of Afro-Americans. I also treat other developments that are related to the socialization process, developments that are political, social, and economic in nature and that would have to occur simultaneously with the educational ones.

These scenarios are only two out of an infinite range of possibilities. While these scenarios represent one man's view on what could occur (and not on what will happen), they are based on as much of the available and supporting evidence as it is possible to marshall in one work of this nature and size. Basically, the evidence and data for these scenarios have been presented in the preceding chapters.

Either one of these scenarios seem plausible at the present time. No probabilistic weights have been assigned to them and their occurrance. The approach used is strictly qualitative, intuitive, and somewhat subjective. But again, history and current affairs have informed these conjectures so they are not flights of fantasy by any stretch of the imagination.

Two alternative futures are presented here. One is utopistic (that is, optimistic) and the other, conversely, is "dystopistic" (that is, it dwells on some of the worst applications of technology to black life in America).

A Utopian Viewpoint

The setting is 25 years hence, the year--1999. The twin thrusts in black education that have manifested themselves for nearly 400 years--black strivings for educational (and total) self-determination and white attempts to maintain social control over Blacks (though miseducation)--have finally been resolved. A new America, awakened by world food, energy, and other resource shortages, realizes that it cannot continue to survive by exploitation and oppression of man and Nature. This new America, transformed in part by its black population, understands that the spirit of cooperation and sharing is in the best interest of all. It is fully cognizant of the fact that oppressed "minorities" in this country and oppressed and exploited peoples of the "Third World" are determined to resist, violently if necessary, continued degradation, poverty, and suppression so that the world's "most powerful nation" can indulge itself in nonsensical materialistic acquisition, overkill and oversell, at the expense of their peoples and resources.

Black Education has emerged as a reality. It is part and parcel of a larger occurance in Black America: its total liberation from racism and exploitation. Black Education is a functional aspect of the total American socialization scene. The latter focuses on preparing people to live in a multi-racial, -religious, -cultural world based on mutual respect of other cultures, life-styles and societies. It prepares people to use the vast technological and scientific capabilities of this country for humanitarian and social purposes, and for tackling the problems of drought, famine, environmental abuse, war, poverty, disease, greed and other worldly ills. Education is a life-long process unmarked by age gradations and scholastic rites de passage. It no longer relies on the teacher-as-omniscient model. Schooling as it was known twenty years ago is becoming archaic. Schools as institutions serve only to teach the basic skills of reading, writing, computation, and how to learn. Teachers are becoming to be known as "facilitators", "resource persons", and are considered "experts" only for imparting the above-named skills. Their former roles of custodians, baby-sitters, janitors, clerical workers and prison guards have been dropped. A new professionalism is developing among them. One which stresses the accomplishment of specific and limited tasks, i.e. imparting basic skills. They do not attempt to teach "values", to mold "characters", to "develop responsible citizens", or to prepare people for vocations. Other institutions--new and old--are responsible for these tasks. The family; "educational centers" (or "learning centers"); ethnic and cultural organizations; religious institutions; and other social institutions have relieved the schools of these roles. Commercial, trade, business, technical, industrial and other economic institutions have extensive on- and off-the-job training programs for preparing people to work successfully in these sectors of society.

Advanced technology has brought about a cybernetic state, which forces a change in the "work ethic" mentality of the country. More released time is a fact of life. Less time, energy and resources have to go into the productive side of American life: first, because of better utilization of technological advances, and secondly, because of less created, artificial demand for goods and services. People realize that the "good" life consists of "quality" and not "quantity". More time is available for people to participate in activities such as personal edification, social and humanitarian projects at home and abroad (without the missionary and Peace Corps orientations), environmental clean-up, planning for the future, etc.

Greater public awareness of the monopolistic powers of the news industry, and of the great impacts of media as a socializing agent has brought about political and legislative moves to decentralize and to "de-monopolize" them. At the same time government censorship and control is prevented by a Supreme Court's ruling which interprets the First Amendment broadly, giving the many people that now own television and radio stations, newspapers, periodicals, etc. the right to engage in uninhibited (but responsible) journalism and public enlightenment. Some public funds are available for local and national communities, groups, and organizations to acquire information--disseminating systems of whatever form. Lay citizens, public officials (elected and appointed) and "experts" (i.e. specialists in the communications field) make up the regulatory and decision-making bodies of the public institutions housing and/or sponsoring information media-owning communities and groups.

Blacks, through a myriad of political, legal, and economic strategems have achieved a level of control over various telecommunications networks and systems. Telecommunications networks are a part of a black educational complex.

On the national level the Congressional Black Caucus, along with many major national black organizations, have joined with other politicians representing various constituencies in the country (consumers, political reformers, Leftists, Liberals, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, American Indians, and a host of others) to pass legislation which enables different segments of the society to acquire information disseminating and communications capabilities with Federal support. These same groups join forces to force the Federal Communications Commission to be truer to its public responsibilities and to actually monitor and regulate the communications industry. Ownership, control, and operation of the industry begins to undergo slow but sure and steady change. More public interest and public service shows appear on the network stations. The Alternative Television movement is recognized and enhanced. More local origination and local citizen input are required of network stations. With the Federal financial and legislative support it is easier for non-commercial groups to get into the communications market. Programs and shows of stereotypic (racial, sexist, etc.), violent, etc. nature are banned and are replaced with programming speaking to the new national mood of pluralism, humanism, non-exploitation, non-materialism, and all the other desirable values and attitudes being formed and shaped. In addition to "out-group" participation in ownership, control and operation of media stations and systems, these formerly oppressed groups also have effected FCC regulations concerning employment practices, at all levels, in the industry. Furthermore the Public Broadcasting Corporation is made more accountable to and representative of all the people in this country.

Locally, Blacks continue to consolidate their political power and leverage in areas--urban and suburban--where they predominate or are a significant voting bloc. Consequently they are able to achieve municipal, non-commercial, and commercial ownership of cable television franchises. Cable television is a growing and healthy industry, and Blacks are on top of it politically, socially, economically, and educationally. Black-owned and -oriented radio stations, aware of the sophisticated political and cultural awareness that Blacks possess, change their programming to reflect this awareness and to enhance it. Not to do so would mean facing re-licensing challenges, boycotts, demonstrations, loss of advertisers (who are now more responsible and restrained), and a host of other actions leading to a station's demise.

Many black groups, organizations and institutions will have acquired a great deal of communications technology for their own use. These groups--families, churches, community organizations, social clubs, fraternities, sororities, youth organizations, etc.--will own or have access to video portapaks; super 8mm, 16mm, and regular 8mm film cameras; mini-computers and/or computer terminals; satellite receptors; microwave relay and transmission facilities; laser technology; miniaturization equipment; tape recorders; etc. Neighborhoods will have closed-circuit television for transmitting local programs, information and services to selected sites in the community--churches, homes, bars, beauty parlors, barber shops, candy stores, record shops, restaurants, community centers, educational and learning centers, and elsewhere. Cable television will bring programs, news, information, etc. from other communities and from national sources into the above-named institutions. Satellittes, microwave transmissions, and other devices will relay both national and international activities into the community and, likewise, the neighborhood will "communicate" with the rest of the world via the same media.

Local teams, consisting of residents, with video paks and other easily transported equipment record, document and disseminate information within the community and to the community from the city, state, across the nation and from abroad. The people are no longer passive consumers of media programming, they are producers. Local events--be they plays, art shows, children's skits, dance contests, fashion shows, or be they public meetings, political campaigns, etc.--can be shared not only with other community residents, but with interested persons outside of the community. Using the public service and educational channels of television, satellites and radio, local systems can be hooked into national networks. The versatility, accuracy and speed of computers can provide on a home or community television set up-to-date information on available and upcoming programs, from all sources--locally, regionally, nationally, and internationally, drawing upon a vast catalogue of data stored in an information retrieval system. This information can be outputted either in the form of a printout or on microfiche. The "T.V. Guide" comes through the "tube".

Teletype terminals, made like dial-tone telephones, allow all the activities and services long heralded as the benefits of two-way interactive computer-cable television to be realized by people in homes. Banking, shopping, mail, travel arrangements, bill-paying, etc. all can occur in the homes.

In the socialization process, there will be a dual focus on technology. Technology will be used to introduce people to technology.

In the first instance, a part of the socialization process of Blacks (and Americans in general) will entail teaching people how to master technology, how to control it, and how to use it wisely. This education will also point out the past, present, and possible consequences of naive and exploitive use of technology for both man and Nature (which are one and the same). People will be taught to be technically competent and sophisticated so that they can actively and meaningfully participate in the policy and decision-making processes of a technological world. Technology, as a teaching tool, is now used in the year 1999 as a means of inculcating a scientific spirit in the black child, youth, and adult. It serves as a way of familiarizing them first hand with technology and underlying principles. Concepts such as electromagnetic fields, atoms, genes, etc. can be imparted directly or indirectly through participation in projects, classes, workshops, etc. that employ, and demonstrate via technology these concepts. Holography and computers will generate "live and real" images of any concept imaginable. Technology will be part of an overall educational and teaching strategy to produce more of the needed black technicians--doctors, engineers, nurses, etc. Black scientists will pass through classes, learning centers and other such institutions with initial and constant exposure to the principles, laws, and theories of science, technology and engineering coming from their direct involvement with scientific and technological programs and devices.

The other focus of technology in Black Education is that of "educational technology". Educational telecommunications technology networks will be established as a means of passing on collective wisdom, heritage, accumulated knowledge, information, values, beliefs, attitudes, and world perspectives from one generation to another, from one black community to another, from one black country to another, from the black world to the world, and from the world cultures to the cultures of African people.

In educational and learning centers, and schools, where the basic skills are being taught, various educational technologies are being employed. Programmed materials, audio-visual aids, the computer, instructional television and radio, various types of reading devices, learning games, etc. are all available for use by the learner and the facilitator.

In the home, mini-, home computers are hooked up with telephones and televisions. Dial-a-lesson, -teacher, or -tutor software packages are available. After pushing the appropriate buttons, the program shows up on the television screen. The audio portion gives instructions and directions. The necessary information and responses are fed into the program via the home phone. After the program ends the printer outputs the "homework" materials for the next session through the slot on the side of the television. In case one had to leave before the program ended, he simply presses a button and the instructions, directions, and information are recorded on a video tape casscttee for later use. Any subject is available from the software library. To select, one simply refers to the computerized catelogue on the information retrieval system.

On- and off-the-job training and in-service programs have the same equipment at the vocational training centers located in businesses, industry, government offices, hospitals, incarceration institutions, etc. The latest techniques of the trade or profession are on file. Direct observation of jobs that people are training for can be made by way of closed-circuit television.

Video teams in the field disseminate and transmit their findings, discoveries, and experiences of the Black Experience in African and Third World rural villages, towns, urban areas by way of satellite, laser, microwave, and fiber optic cable technologies to Black America, the African Diaspora, America, and the World. These experiences constitute history, geography, civilization, anthropology, political science, language and philosophy lessons for the field team and the viewers. Likewise the African-American experience is shared with the world by these same technologies. Records, audio tapes, films, slides, movies, and the other media are also important vehicles of enlightenment, cultural awareness and human understanding. Black people and other people in this country learn to appreciate and respect different cultures and life-styles through exposure to them by way of these devices and media. The "ugly American" is no more when people from the United States travel abroad. "Culture shock" is minimized for all peoples of the world.

Within the United States people of different races understand each others cultures, life-styles, habits, and values by being exposed to them at only early age. White children in North Dakota, Montana and Idaho see what life is for black children in Harlem, Watts, North Philadelphia, on southern farms, in mid-western towns, and in other countries.

These same black children will see and understand what life means to a little Chicano in a barrio, an Original American boy or girl living on a reservation or in a rural area. They all will see the lives of children in non-continental U.S.A. (Puerto Rico, Hawaii, Guam, the Virgin Islands, etc.). Most importantly they will see the lives of the others as the others themselves present them and not as a CBS, NBC, or ABC white, middle-class director or producer wants to portray it. "Integration" is in the process of being totally re-defined.

Black colleges have informational, enlightenment, and entertainment programs geared for community consumption via telecommunications networks. These institutions have been a leader in the black community in establishing black use of technology. Critical health care and medical information is passed along to the black community by black scholars and scientists at these institutions. Black economists pass on valuable consumer information. Black social scientists share their analyses of and research findings on domestic and international affairs with the black and larger publics by way of telecommunications technology. Technologists, engineers, and scientists give technological state of the society reports to Black America through the same media. Black politicians and leaders address their constituencies through these media, and in turn are questioned, queried and challenged before a local, regional or national body. Many other beneficial and positive uses are being made of technology.

* * * *

The year 1999 turns into the 21st century.

A Dystopian View

It is January 1, 1984. The sound of low flying helicopters interrupts the gloomy silence of the cold night. No fuel. The energy crisis of the 1970's was "sho nuf fo real". So were the political and economic crises. Heavy motorized sounds emanate from the street. Armored cars and jeeps pull up, followed by steel-plated buses. Television and radio sets are suddenly beseiged with an "urgent message" signal. A message is bleated out over the air or through the cables into the homes of black families throughout the country. The same message is simultaneously echoed over loudspeakers situated in the armored vehicles outside. "All Occupants Come Out From Your Homes! Hold Your Hands High Above Your Heads! Wear Only Minimal Clothing! Do Not Have A Weapon In Your Possession, Nor Make Any Threatening Gestures! If You Disobey These Commands Or Put Up Any Resistance You Will Be Shot On The Spot! COME OUT NOW!!!

Streams of cold, poorly-fed black bodies emerged from the dilapidated housing. The helicopters hovered even closer to the roof tops. Troops and policemen stood battle ready. Concealed television cameras provided images and a surveillance of the area to monitors at the command post. Two-way radio communications kept the troops in the "field" informed of all suspicious activity in the vicinity.

No resisiance encountered. The computer programs had accurately detailed and programed the operation. The data banks on the "natives" contain useful up-to-date information acquired from school and unemployment records, welfare rolls, social security and Internal Revenue files, social science research in the area, credit cards and charge accounts. It was an ingenious operation. No need for the contingency plans.

The people were herded onto the buses and carried away to the Processing Centers. As they entered the building, after leaving the buses, a broadband laser beam aimed at the pelvic area was activated. They were directed to a large hall. There, they waited in line. In small groups they entered a room. Once in the room they were ordered to sit down in a chair. A electrode cap is placed on the skull. A switch is clicked. A small sensation is felt in the front part of the brain and along the spinal cord. "You're through. Next!" Another brother or sister takes the vacated seat. The same process. Next a blood test, then a diagnosis of one's genetic make up. These data are entered on the person's file. A "interview" with a behavior modification therapist follows. Finally, a social worker-soldier gives a passbook to the native, informs him to keep his radio and television station tuned to Channel BBIWY (Big Brother Is Watching You), and then tells him to return to the buses which will transport him and others back home.

You are back home. As you turn on the set and switch channels you see on the other stations classical movies of old--"Tarzan", "Gone With The Wind", "Archie Bunker". A "special" called "Manifest Destiny" is on. "Cowboys and Indians" movies abound. All of these shows have a by-line running underneath them saying "Whites Only". You dully turn to Station BBIWY. "Stepin Fitchit", "Amos and Andy", and "Flip Wilson" are playing. It's still cold inside, but your body is numb Your groins feel funny. Periodically, every half-hour to be exact, you must push a button on the side of the television set. It records your whereabouts.

* * * *

A new form of "seasoning" is in effect.

Chapter 11

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

At this point we must look back and examine our major area of concern in light of the findings and issues presented in earlier chapters. We must draw policy and social implications from this information and develop (or suggest) appropriate strategies and recommendations for the necessary actions required to enhance and to insure a viable process of socialization for Afro-Americans.

As we stated on page one, it is our intent to explore and assess the understanding and perceptions of communications technology as held by Black Americans, and to examine social policy implications of their attitudes and knowledge.

Our various analyses have laid bare these findings:

- Miseducation and social control of Blacks have occurred historically and presently through various socializing institutions--schools, media, the seasoning process, and other such mechanisms.
- There has been and is abusive use of technology on Blacks, again as a means of social control.
- Education or, more properly, public schooling has been one area of black aspiration and, most recently, one of the areas in which social and educational change has been called

for by Blacks, who seek to use it as a tool of achieving total liberation from exploitation and discrimination of all types. Schools are now viewed as both a friend and a foe in the black struggle for self-determination and justice.

- Many "panaceas" are circulating about on the educational scene today. Most are in response to the hue and cry raised by Blacks (and other dissatisfied segments of society). Some of these efforts, while quite sincere, are rather misguided in purpose and/or programmatic aspects. Others are designed as pacifier programs to quiet the restless natives. Still others are intentionally construed and constructed to inhibit and to suppress any meaningful black advancement on any front--political, economic, social, cultural, or what have you.
- A set of educational strategies, goals, programs, and institutions for fully conceptualizing and realizing the ideal of Black Education have not been developed by Blacks themselves. The explicit components of a black educational complex have not been identified for the socializing roles that they could play in the lives of black folk, in preparing black people to live in a society that is hostile to their very existence, and that is not above oppressing them with technology and any other means available.
- Blacks, while they generally have favorable attitudes toward technology in the education of black children, are also generally unaware of the vast potentials (and dangers) of the telecommunications technologies in particular, and technology and media in general. Many of the more familiar ones are held in high regard, but it is many of the less familiar ones, either alone or in conjunction with each other and other technology and media, that hold the greatest promise or peril.

The policy implications of these conclusions are many for the different black organizations, agencies, institutions and individuals concerned with the social well-being and the meaningful and positive growth and development of the black community in this country.

There are some black groups and individuals who know about the possible dangers and impacts of technology and media in general and who foresee the import of the great technological and cybernetic breakthroughs that are developing. There are other groups greatly concerned about the educational fare of black youth. Too few of these groups are one and the same. The knowledge and awareness of technology and its concommitant ramifications for social life are rarely applied directly to the issues of black socialization in terms of strategies, goals, policies, tactics, and programs. It is clear that many black professionals, activists, and politicians are reactors and not planners. Many do not develop and operate on their own agendas (other than their personal ones), but instead wait for developments and issues to occur and to dictate their actions, attitudes, and responses. Much more work needs to be done on establishing mechanisms for purposive planning and systematic assessment of the situation of Blacks in America and the world. There are some such agencies devoted to this type of work but their efforts need to be expanded many fold.

Closely related to this situation with black leaders and organizations is the fact that many black parents in the past and even today have made a "good education" or a "good school" consist of whatever white schools have in terms of equipment, personnel, facilities, etc., without questioning the value, validity, and quality of these "resources". It may be that educational technology will become the newest member of the "good school" and "good education" checklist with no true understanding of its potentials, limitations, applications, and feasibility.

Many Blacks will continue to follow the "me-too" approach to quality education. Instead of defining and delineating educational goals, objectives, strategies and policies for themselves, they will wait until white schools have adopted certain materials, facilities and equipment and say, "we're being short-changed" and "we want that too".

Even more serious than the dangers of the "me-too" approach, is the fact that the cultural subjugation and the racist assumptions that dominate and prevail in the curriculum today, that have been the object of so much black contention and efforts of change, will be introduced in the form of the "software" that will come with the introduction and implementation of the "hardware" that will be installed in black schools. The battles that are currently being waged against the media and their programming as it relates (or fails to relate) to Blacks will have to be fought all over again on a new battleground--the educational front, if Blacks do not become aware and active.

With the many educational alternatives before parents and taxpayers (those discussed in Chapter 4), they must be sufficiently informed (or "educated") so as to be able to make intelligent decisions and choices. Again, the telecommunications technology networks and the mass media can and should play a decisive role in this respect. However, a lot of grassroot legwork is needed to inform the public of the "information crisis" that is upon it. The flow and the technology of information are controlled by too few powers that may or may not be working in the larger interest of the general public. To alert the public to this fact and to the ramifications and implications of this phenomenon for a "democratic" and technological society will be a difficult, but necessary, feat. It is hard to use the media to fight the media. This situation poses a dilemma: how to get the media to do their job without excessive government control and regulation. This problem must be carefully thought out and resolved.

Recommendations

The recommendations presented below are actually areas of needs that we have identified and that we believe require serious thought and action. These areas of concern emanate from this underlying awareness: "seasoning" and social control have always been the by-words in American life for Blacks. The process of seasoning used physical, social, psychological and religious means to make Blacks suitable for exploitation and enslavement. Present day seasoning, i.e. social control, uses chemotherapy, psychotechnology, electronic technology, genetic engineering and other products of science, engineering and technology to keep Blacks and other poor and oppressed people in their places, which historically have been at the bottom of society.

The areas of needs are outlined below. Extensive elaboration on these points must await another occasion. Their rationales have been presented throughout the text so they will not be reiterated here.

There is a need for Blacks to control the uses of technology and technological developments. This control can be of many forms--political, social, and economic. This means that Blacks would have to get meaningfully involved in those processes and institutions that house, develop, and utilize technology.

Blacks should strive for meaningful citizen control and participation in the socialization processes of the schools, media (television, radio, movies, etc.) and other institutions that impinge upon the attitudes, values, and intellect of black people and that influence their behavior.

There is a need to achieve greater understanding and awareness of the past, present, and future roles that technology has played, plays, and could play in society, especially as a conveyor and molder of values, attitudes, judgement, mores, behavior, life styles, etc.

It is necessary for people to acquire a scientific "sense", to achieve an understanding of how science and technology work, so that these areas of life can be de-mystified and understood and controlled by the people.

Blacks need to develop software and hardware suitable to our needs, learning styles (these need to be discovered and made explicit), culture, history, life styles, and future.

The privacy and rights of individuals need to be protected. Black people do not need Watergate and the related crimes to tell us about governmental abuse of our rights. This has been going on for centuries for Blacks. Technology does add another dimension to the threat of genocide and to the reality of social control.

There is a need for technology assessments, policy studies (futures research) and traditional academic research. However, in the latter case emphasis should be on using multidisciplinary approaches, eschewing the conventional approach to social research, that is, framing and answering research problems and questions in the language and methodology of one discipline or sub-specialty within one discipline. Many research strategies and methodologies must come to bear on the issues and problems that confront society. Historiography (including cliometrics), economic analyses (including econometrics), survey and interview techniques, observational and naturalistic studies, experimental research, legal research, technology assessment, and futures research, along with many other research strategies and methodologies all can have a role in examining, studying and explaining complex social and natural phenomena if they are properly and appropriately employed.

There is a need for a large scale communications network owned, operated and controlled by Blacks. With this end in mind, black economists should begin to study financial and economic aspects of this possibility. Black social scientists need to study the impacts of this phenomenon on black values, life styles, behavior and attitudes. They will need to work on ways of containing the negative aspects of this event, while devising ways and means of enhancing and maximizing the positive benefits that can accrue from such a system. Black politicians need to get involved in the regulatory aspects of this process at the local, state, and national levels. Black lawyers need to examine the legal ramifications of a network of this nature; the issues of privacy, individual rights, copyright, financial consideration and many more, seen and unforseen, must be taken into account.

There is a need for top level black think tanks composed of scientists, engineers, activists, politicians, community people, students, working people and others, who will study, assess and propose policy, strategies and actions on telecommunications technology, transportation technology, psychotechnology and all the other social, human, economic, technical, etc. technologies that interact with black life. While some recommendations and steps in this direction have been made, much more needs to occur.

Blacks must become a leading force in seeking true public control and regulation of public resources and those technical mechanisms that exploit them. Housing, transportation, and telecommunications technology, along with air and water controls, the utilities, and many other aspects of socio-technical life are areas of great importance to Blacks and to all people in this society. Blacks should join with consumer groups, environmentalists, and other oppressed people of color (Indians, Chicanos, etc.) to seek the necessary changes. Before this type of common action can occur, Blacks must come to a collective black awareness and understanding of that historical reality which shows that Blacks have always been a moving force in this society and the catalyst and spearhead of many social changes, beneficial to all people. There are many examples of this. We mention a few simply to make the point:

- During Reconstruction, Blacks helped to pave the way for all southern children to get formal schooling.
- During the Jim Crow era, as a result of black teachers' efforts to get their pay equalized with that of white male teachers, white female teachers also received equal salaries.
- Presently, Blacks are usually in the forefront in advocating and enacting changes in social welfare benefits and in employment practices. These changes have benefited whites, women and many other groups.

In terms of education and social development, there is a great need for comprehensive strategies and proposals to be developed after careful and systematic assessments have been made. Fads and "panaceas" come and go. Rhetoric and slogans serve no purpose at best, and are harmful at worst, regardless if they are uttered by a black, brown, red, yellow, or white mouth. Blacks must learn to avoid the trap of getting caught up in meaningless motions, fads, and rhetoric.

Realistic means of implementing the various strategies and proposals must be devised and implemented. Pilot, experimental and test programs can be developed and studied. Small-scale projects can be undertaken to assess the efficacy of the underlying theories and strategies. The programs, theories and strategies must be reviewed, revised, and discarded if they do not work or accepted and implemented if they are workable.

Most importantly, there is a need for a balanced view of technology. The intent of this presentation has not been to sell technology or to ask people to "go technological" just for the sake of "being in". This would be just as dangerous, if not more so, as placing all of one's eggs in any one of the other "panacea" baskets. Technology must not be delegated to the status of a panacea whose time has come. It must be considered as part of an overall, all-encompassing strategy to achieve, implement, and maintain a system and process of socialization known as Black Education. Black Education must be viewed as a means for helping black people realize and sustain a quality and state of life free from outside domination, exploitation, and suppression.

Other aspects of this "grand" strategy entail the necessary political, economic, social, cultural, intellectual, ethical, etc. activities and considerations.

Again, telecommunications technology should, could, and will have to be a part of the fleet of vehicles needed to carry out these activities and to fulfill the objectives of the yet to be established black agenda. This technology should be considered for what it properly is, a tool, requiring neither undue emphasis nor undue neglect, but proper control and utilization.

Summary

Blacks that foresee the coming challenge and potential of technology in education (and its current social impacts) and who advocate its use are usually of a Pan-Africanist/Black Nationalist orientation and/or are engaged in higher education (usually in special services and research) or in policy-making endeavors (for government, private and public organizations). Far too often these various types are removed from the masses of people, and only with difficulty and great effort are their voices carried to the larger national black community or their endeavors (successful or not) reported and disseminated to serve as warnings, models or catalysts.

The obvious solution to this predicament is two-fold. First, Blacks need to establish black communications media data banks and informational systems, employing all available technologies and media, as well as developing new ones. These systems would serve as both communications and educational institutions. Given the various "de-schooling society" sentiments and movements in this country on the part of wide-ranging and diverse groups and institutions (black, white, brown, red, "militant", "radical", "establishment", etc.), out-of-school and non-compulsory education is very possible in the future, particularly if educational expenditures continue to rise faster than other economic indicators. Black-controlled and oriented media would have a tremendous role to play in establishing and transmitting values, attitudes and information.

Secondly, Blacks have a great need to affect the staffing, programming, policies and development of white-controlled media and institutions housing, using, and developing technology in order to mitigate or negate their adverse, inverse relation with Blacks.

Hopefully those striving to initiate social change and educational innovation and restructuring will be able to develop the means to communicate to and educate their less aware brothers and sisters on the dangers and potentials of the communications technologies in the educational strivings of Black Americans, and the need for developing a strong social awareness of the complexities and implications of a rapidly changing technological "democratic society".

* * * *

This chapter is inappropriately entitled, "Conclusions....". Hopefully it and this entire work will serve as the commencement of a greater awareness and understanding of the forces that are shaping the lives of our people, and the beginning of the necessary actions to take command of these events and developments.

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Due to the large number of references used in conducting this investigation and in writing this work, the bibliography is organized as outlined below. This format is employed to allow the readers the upmost facilitation in finding and using the references.

The references comprising each section of this bibliography were to a great extent determined by subject matter. Many of the references could have been placed in one or more sections, but were arbitrarily placed under the heading where they are found. No cross-referencing has been done for such works.

The sections are presented in alphabetical order (with the exception of the "Other" section, which follows all the rest).

Black Education and Socialization (Current)

- Books
- Pamphlets, Articles, Papers
- Periodicals

Black Educational Historiography

- Books

Education

- Books
- Pamphlets, Articles, Papers

Technology

Books
Pamphlets, Articles, Papers

Other

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Imani

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APPENDICES

Appendices A through E have been omitted from this printing of the report. If any or all of the Appendices is desired, please write the Program in Technology and Human Affairs, Box 1106, Washington University, Saint Louis, Missouri 63130.